Office Memorandum UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO The Director DATE: 2 /

FROM: J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages A1011- Congressman Powell, (D) New York, extended his remarks to include an article by Walter Winchell which appeared in the New York Daily Mirror on January 31, 1957. Mr. Winchell comments on the White Citizens Councils. A reference to the FBI was set forth in a memorandum written earlier this date.

NOT RECORNS 138 MAI 5 1957

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

SAC, New Orleans

March 19, 1957

Director, FBI (105-34237)

CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES'
RIGHTS MOVEMENTS
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

ReBulet January 4, 1957.

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Director, FBI (105-34237)

CITIZENS COUNCILS - G-6/1/1/1/ INTERNAL SECURITY - X

As you were instructed in Bulet to Atlanta dated December 13, 1956, captioned as above, a monthly summary containing information received relative to citizens councils is to be prepared and submitted to reach the Bureau by the 15th of each menth. Bufiles fail to reflect receipt of summaries from the effices receiving copies of this letter. In the event these summaries have not been submitted 40 so immediately.

In the future make sure the deadline each menth is met without fail.

2 - Birmingham

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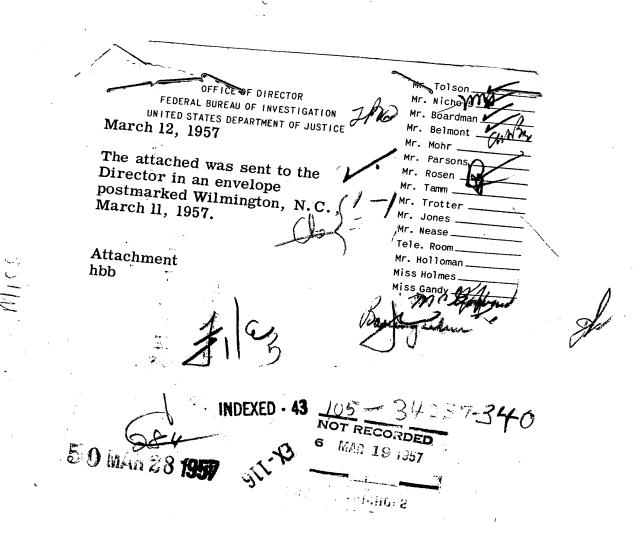
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MR J EOGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR FBI DEPT OF JUSTICE BLG WASHINGTON D.C.

Reduced

Congressional
Committee Report
on
What Happened
When Schools
Were Integrated in
Washington, D. C.



Distributed as a Public Service by

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS

GREENWOOD, MISS.

When racial integration came to Washington, D. C., public schools, what was the result? A subcommittee of Congress reports—

Following are excerpts from a report on integration of public schools in Washington, D. C., made by a subcommittee of the House Committee on the District of Columbia and released Dec. 28, 1956:

The Subcommittee of the House of Representatives on the District of Columbia to Investigate the District of Columbia Public Schools and Juvenile Delinquency in the District of Columbia submits the following report to the full House Committee on the District of Columbia.

Complete, accurate and reliable information was needed by the Committee on the District of Columbia to clarify the many conflicting reports, rumors and misleading information about conditions in the Washington schools. Attempts to obtain a true picture of the state of affairs had met with little success. The subcommittee was appointed to make an investigation. The committee started work on July 11, and held open hearings from Sept. 19 until Oct. 1, 1956.

Prior to September, 1954, the public-school system in the District of Columbia was operated on a racially separate basis, the white schools being referred to as the division I schools and the Negro schools as division II. There was a superintendent of the entire school system, and directly under him was an assistant superintendent in charge of division I and an assistant superintendent in charge of division II.

Each of the divisions had the same curriculum and course of study which was set up and approved by a joint integrated committee. They had access to the same textbooks. Funds for textbooks and supplies were allotted on a per capita basis. Except for teachers' salaries, which will be discussed later, funds appropriated for the entire school operation were allocated on a per capita basis.

Two normal schools were maintained for the training of teachers: a white school known as Wilson Teachers College and a Negro school known as Miner Teachers College.

The teachers in each of the divisions were adequate in numbers and certification. They were paid on the same salary scale and ranked among the highest paid in the public schools of the United States.

On May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation of students in the public schools in the District of Columbia and throughout the United States was unconstitutional and not in conformity with the Fourteenth Amendment.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Supreme Court had deferred further action on these cases until the October term of Court in 1954 for the purpose of giving the legal representatives of the several States an opportunity to present further argument, immediate request was made for integrating the Washington schools with a public admonition by the President of the United States that they should serve as a model of integrated schools to be copied by the rest of the country.

Little serious or genuine preparation for such a major change had been made. Eight days after the Supreme Court ruling—on May 25, 1954—the board of education of the District of Columbia, by a vote of 6 to 3, ordered the schools to be integrated and adopted the following declarations of policy:

1. Appointments, transfers, preferments, promotions, ratings, or any other matters respecting the officers and employes of the board shall be predicated solely upon merit and not upon race or color.

2. No pupil of the public schools shall be favored or discriminated against in any matter or in any manner respecting his or her relationship to the schools of the Dis-

trict of Columbia by reason of race or color.

3. Attendance of pupils residing within school boundaries, hereafter to be established, shall not be permitted at schools located beyond such boundaries, except for the most necessitous reasons or for the public convenience, and in no event for reasons related to the racial character of the school within the boundaries in which the pupil resides.

4. The board believes that no record should be kept or maintained in respect to any pupil not enrolled in a public school on or prior to June 17, 1954, or in respect to any officer or employe not employed within the system on or prior to that date in which information is solicited or recorded related to the color or race of any such person.

5. That the maximum efficient use shall be made of all

physical facilities without regard to race or color.

The president of the board of education testified that he had opposed the quick action that was taken by the board in integrating the schools. He stated that, in the light of history, an effort should have been made to determine whether the division II students were on the same grade level as those in division I before integration was ordered. He stated further that the integrated school system of the District of Columbia is not a model to be followed by any school system in the United States.

Many of the school personnel testified that integration of the schools in the District of Columbia was too hasty, that it was done without adequately preparing the principals, teachers or students for the problems to be encountered.

It is the intention of the committee to present a report designed to aid in improving the conditions affecting public-school children of the District of Columbia. It is the desire of the committee to relieve the able, courageous and excellent principals, teachers and officials from pressures that have been a handicap to them. The problem presented is too serious and too far-reaching to be considered lightly by Congress and the people.

Washington, D. C., is the most favorable choice as an integration experiment most likely to succeed. Our best educated Negroes are migrating to the capital in great numbers. The Negro per capita income in the District of Columbia is higher than the white income in some areas of the nation. As residents of the nation's capital, the people of the District of Columbia enjoy more cultural advantages than people of any other city in America. The District of Columbia Negroes have had school facilities superior to most other school districts in the nation. No other place in the nation offers such superior advantages for a successful integration program.

The investigation and subsequent hearings were con-

ducted in an atmosphere charged with abuse and name calling directed at members of the committee and its chief counsel by some of the Washington press, some minority pressure groups and other advocates of integrated schools. This conduct was constant and deliberate. It was unquestionably intended to destroy the effectiveness of the investigation.

The bias of one of the Washington newspapers in favor of integration is illustrated by the following testimony of Mrs. Elva C. Wells, principal of Theodore Roosevelt High School:

"One of the Washington papers sent out a photographer to my graduation and came up to me as I was leaving the stage and asked for permission to take pictures of the Negro honor students. And I said, "Well, we have no Negro honor students, but we have many, many honor students.' They would not take the pictures of the honor students. I tried very hard last year to get all three papers to give us a big build-up on the scholarships and honors which our school had won.

"As I told you, we were the only public high school to have a national merit scholarship winner. We had scholarships to Dartmouth, Harvard, Cornell, Pennsylvania, Princeton and many others that I can't say offhand. I wanted a big build-up on that. And I got all the information, because I felt it would offset some of the press on the low standards and so forth. I could not get that before the public in the press. I could not get that written up . . .

"Well, I don't know that I should use the word 'refusal.' He just said he wasn't interested in taking it. Perhaps I should put it that way. I offered that. I said, 'We do not have a Negro student in the honor group, but we have many students that have won honors, and I would like you to take it.' And he said, 'Well, no.' He said he was sent out to get the Negro students who had won honors. And if my memory serves me correctly, it was the Washington 'Post.'"

A mass meeting sponsored by the NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] was planned and held to protest the investigation.

During the course of the hearings the protestants, apparently fearful of the impending revelation of the truth, made a vigorous effort to halt the proceedings.

Entreaties were made to President Eisenhower, presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson, Republican Chairman Leonard Hall, Democratic Chairman Paul Butler, Speaker Sam Rayburn, House Leader John McCormack, and all members of the House District Committee, vigorously urging them to use their influence in preventing the subcommittee from functioning in its legitimate endeavor to gather information heretofore withheld from the Congress and the public.

Immediately after Mrs. Elva C. Wells, principal of Theodore Roosevelt High School, testified before the committee, Wesley Williams, a Negro member of the District board of education, issued a public statement suggesting that "Dr. Corning should re-examine the competency of some of the principals" who appeared at the hearings. He said that some had "made severe admissions of inadequacy."

When it is considered that this attack was obviously directed at Mrs. Wells, one of the outstanding and able prin-

cipals in the District school system, who had been in the school system since 1929, and had very successfully operated a most outstanding high school in Washington, it is evident that this unwarranted attack was intended to coerce and intimidate and cause witnesses not to appear and testify at the hearings. This was somewhat effective in the light of the fact that the subcommittee used only voluntary witnesses. Subsequent to this attack, some teachers and principals were reluctant or failed to appear because they were fearful of reprisals at the hands of certain members of the board of education.

This fact was clearly demonstrated in the testimony, on the day after this attack was published, of Miss Dorothy Tripp, principal of Langdon and Woodridge Schools, who made the following observation before the subcommittee:

"I think before I go further I want to make a point that I am a little bit concerned over a statement made in the [Washington] 'Star' yesterday referring to Mr. Williams' (our board member) seven-page statement issued to the press, stating that 'Dr. Corning should re-examine the competence of some of the principals' who appeared at the hearings. He said he felt some had 'made severe admissions of inadequacy.' I want to be awfully sure, before I go deeper into this, want to feel there will be no reprisal—or no retribution, maybe, is a better word—of any kind on any statements I may be making before this committee. . . .

"I don't feel I am here under pressure. I feel it is my professional duty to be here even if it were not a required thing; but under the circumstances I thought I should make that clear before I go further because I may say some things in the course of the questioning that would reflect upon the work my teachers and I have done that we felt we have done the best we could under the circumstances and will continue to do so."

This attack had so intimidated some of the prospective witnesses that it became necessary to bring before the subcommittee Superintendent Hobart S. Corning, who reassured the school personnel that no reprisals would be imposed against them for testifying before the subcommittee. Notwithstanding this assurance, some were still doubtful and did not appear. Many who did appear showed effects of intimidation and coercion and were fearful to repeat many statements they had made to the subcommittee staff when originally interviewed.

In an effort to encourage the submission of pertinent facts, on the first day of the hearings the chairman of the subcommittee made the following statement:

Mr. Davis [Representative James C. Davis (Dem.), of Georgia]: I want to make this announcement before this session adjourns: I have had letters from several organizations stating that they wanted to appear as witnesses. I do not know what information they have, or might have, that would be relevant to this investigation. The committee will be glad to have any organization or group which feels it has anything to offer for this investigation to submit a statement or a summary of what they think they could give us information on. You may submit that to counsel, Mr. Gerber [William Gerber, subcommittee counsel], and if the committee deems it relevant and pertinent, we will be glad to have you as a witness.

It should be noted that, during the investigation and at the public hearings, all of the witnesses appeared voluntarily. They were selected from the school personnel list furnished by the school administration without regard to race.

Many teachers, both white and colored, appeared on a confidential basis, with the request that they not be used as witnesses.

It is the intention of the subcommittee to present the problems of major importance factually, clearly, frankly and fully enough for the public to know what has happened and is happening in our capital city. Every citizen has a direct interest in Washington affairs, particularly inasmuch as Washington has been designated to serve as a model of public-school integration.

Some problems of major importance as revealed by the open hearings will be discussed at some length in this report. Other items will be stated briefly. A vast amount of pertinent information of vital interest to school people and public officials was given in private hearings and is on file. For reasons mentioned heretofore, not all of the picture is in printed public record.

One situation of great concern to the nation is the fact that the white population is leaving Washington. The records show, conclusively, that the elementary-school population was increasing after World War II until the first steps into integration were taken in public housing and other fields. At the first threat of integration, the white residents began to leave.

EFFECT OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION ON POPULATION

The exodus of white residents from the District of Columbia was accelerated by the persistent agitation for school integration which culminated in the ruling by the Supreme Court. The subsequent establishment of school boundaries, which resulted in forcing the mixing of white and Negro students, caused a great many of the white residents to move to the suburban areas and into the States of Maryland and Virginia. Many have enrolled their children in racially segregated private schools. This exodus is continuing at this moment, according to the testimony of school personnel, and there is a prediction that, in the not-too-distant future, the District of Columbia will be a predominantly Negro community.

Where there were a few years ago 59,582 white students and 33,498 Negro students, the school census as of Oct. 21, 1955, disclosed that there was a school membership of 38,768 white students and 68,877 Negro students. The school census of October, 1956, clearly indicates the continued exodus of the white residents from the District of Columbia. This census shows that the school population is now 34,750 white students (32 per cent) and 73,723 Negro students (68 per cent).

ENROLLMENT STATISTICS

The following tables tell the story, more clearly than words, that integration is the direct cause of the flight of the white people from Washington.

1. The postwar elementary white enrollment was increasing until the first type of integration started around 1949-50.

2. The loss was very slow until 1953 when plans for school integration were under way. The whites then moved out rapidly.

3. The heaviest loss was within the last year, 1956.

Not only do these figures indicate that integration was the cause of the exodus, but the 1956 figures show that the situation is growing more acute.

THE RESULTS OF INTEGRATION— TABLES OF WHITE EXODUS

Total enrollment as of October of each year.

	1953	1954	1955	1956
Total white	44,897	41,393	38,768	34,750
Total Negro	58,936	64,090	68,877	73,723
Percentage of white decline	2.7	-7.8	-6.3	-10.4

The white enrollment 1949-50 (start of housing and other integration) was 48,696.

The white decrease, 1949-1956, is 13,946 or 28.6 per cent. The change in elementary enrollment is a more accurate indication of the shift in population than the total enrollment, or that of any other group. The next table shows the elementary growth, 1945-49.

The years of white elementary increase.

	1946	1947	1948	1949
Enrollment	26,352	26,726	26,916	28,528
	increase +.6			

This growth was ended when housing and other integration started.

White elementary enrollment continued.

1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
Number27,967					
Per cent ± 0.09	-0.9	-1.8	-10.2	-7.5	-11.0

The drop from the peak (postwar) year (1949) to 1956 was 8,583 or 30.9 per cent.

. . . There are only six all-white schools left.

The scholastic standing of the . . . schools has been very seriously affected by the method of integration now used in the District of Columbia. A study of mentality and achievement follows.

RESULT OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND I. Q. TESTS

For the first time in the history of the District school system, national standardized educational-achievement and I. Q. tests were given on a city-wide basis during the 1955-56 school term.

After these tests were concluded, the superintendent of schools refused to reveal to the press and public the specific results of those tests.

In refusing to disclose this information, the superintendent declared, "that publicity on achievement scores between white and colored pupils might cause difficulties in desegregation. The March tests showed former all-colored schools for the most part lagged behind schools formerly all white." He further stated that "test statistics are easily misinterpreted and it is unlikely laymen can understand them."

It was only after a vociferous protest by the press, the public and even certain members of the board of education that any test-score information was made public. These test results were not broken down by race, but were a composite of white and Negro students. The results, as revealed, showed that the students in the District of Columbia integrated schools were one to two grades below the national norms.

It was, accordingly, perfectly clear to the subcommittee that it was the intention of the board of education to conceal the disparity in educational achievement of the races by adopting a policy of not keeping statistics by race. The staff members, without success, sought vigorously to obtain a racial breakdown of these test results.

It was observed that schools tested were indicated in the reports by an alphabet code. The delivery of this code could not have violated the policy provision of not keeping statistics by race. Demand was, therefore, made for this code, which was in due time furnished to the subcommittee.

After this code was received, a racial breakdown of the schools was made by the subcommittee staff.

The result of these tests admittedly shocked the school administration. It was particularly shocking when it was discovered that there were a great many students, the overwhelming majority being Negro, in the senior high school, who could only read on the third, fourth and fifth-grade level.

In an effort to prevent the rapid deterioration of the educational advancement of the more capable students, there was conceived for the 1956 term of school a form of segregation by abilities referred to as the "four-track" plan. This plan was created to group the students according to ability to learn and was confined to the tenth grade.

The students who are assigned to the honors program are the above-average students, the gifted youngsters who can go through a strong academic program, leading toward college preparation, with special emphasis upon sciences, mathematics and the foreign languages.

Out of 5,193 students, 1,921 white and 3,272 colored, enrolled in the tenth grade, 365 students qualified in the first group. Of this number 315 were white students and 50 were Negro students.

Youngsters for this particular curriculum pattern are selected by their counselors and the principal of each high school on the basis of achievement scores in reading, arithmetic, their intelligence quotient as indicated by the tests used, their academic records, and the recommendations of teachers.

Out of 5,099 students enrolled in the tenth grade, 1,159 students qualified in the second group, the regular college-preparatory group. Of this number 803 were white students and 356 were Negro students.

The third group, designated as "general curriculum," consisted of students who plan to go into a job or become married and do not plan to continue their education beyond high school. They are in the main a group not capable of doing regular college work.

Out of 5,099 students enrolled in the tenth grade, 2,098 students qualified in the third group. Of this number 643 were white students and 1,453 were Negro students.

The fourth group, designated as "basic," was designed for the severely retarded students who had achieved on the sixth-grade level and below in arithmetic and reading.

Out of 5,099 students enrolled in the tenth grade, 1,477 students were placed in this group. Of this number 158 were white students and 1,319 were Negro students.

The testimony revealed that there was a doubt as to whether some of the students in the second, or "regular college preparatory" group, were on the tenth-grade reading level. It was definitely established that the third, or "general" group, ranged as low as the seventh-grade reading level. The fourth, or "basic" group, ranged from the third to sixth-grade reading level.

The four-track plan was devised so as to avoid the demotion from high school of students who were on the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh-grade reading level.

In the eighth-grade reading-word meaning-test the Negro students not only averaged 2 grades and 1 month below the eighth grade, second month, but they were 4 grades and 1 month behind the white students.

In the eighth-grade reading-paragraph meaning-test, the Negro students not only averaged 2 grades and 4 months below the eighth grade, second month, but they were 4 grades and 2 months behind the white students.

In the eighth-grade arithmetic-reasoning test, the Negro students not only averaged 2 grades and 1 month below the eighth grade, second month, but they were 2 grades and 8 months behind the white students.

In the eighth-grade arithmetic-computation test the Negro students not only averaged 2 grades and 3 months below the eighth grade, second month, but they were 2 grades and 5 months behind the white students.

The picture becomes clearer when we note the following breakdown:

In the eighth-grade reading—word meaning—test, 1,973 out of 2,995, or 65.8 per cent of the Negro students tested, graded as follows: sixth grade, 531; fifth grade, 645; fourth grade, 653; third grade, 140; and second grade, 4.

In the eighth-grade reading—paragraph meaning—test, 2,161 out of 2,991, or 72.3 per cent of the Negro students tested, graded as follows: sixth grade, 520; fifth grade, 538; fourth grade, 676; third grade, 385; second grade, 40; and first grade, 2.

In the eighth-grade arithmetic-reasoning test, 2,242 out of 2,908, or 77.1 per cent, of the Negro students tested, graded as follows: sixth grade, 883; fifth grade, 617; fourth grade, 633; third grade, 82; and second grade, 27.

In the eighth-grade arithmetic-computation test, 2,456 out of 3,002, or 81.8 per cent of the Negro students tested, graded as follows: sixth grade, 993; fifth grade, 1019; fourth grade, 375; third grade, 67; and second grade, 2.

Contentions were made during the hearings that the disparity between Negro and white students in educational achievement and mental ability to learn could be attributed to:

- 1. Alleged low social-economic background of Negroes.
- 2. Discrimination against former division II [all-Negro] schools.
 - 3. Overcrowded classrooms.

The result of the Stanford achievement test and California test of mental maturity which was given to the District of Columbia third-grade students refutes these contentions.

It should be noted that the third-grade students to whom these tests were administered were in the first grade when the schools of the District of Columbia were integrated. At the time of the tests the white and Negro students were in the second year of integration.

The Stanford achievement test showed that the white third-grade students were on a level with the national average. On the other hand, the Negro third-grade students were already one full grade below the national average.

The California test of mental maturity showed that the white elementary students had an average I. Q. rating of 105, which was above the national average. The Negro elementary students had an average of 87, or 13 percentile below the national average.

The hearings reveal that the higher the grade the wider is the disparity between the white and colored students in educational achievement and I. O.

These developments under the integrated program have caused the school administration to accelerate its program of grouping students according to educational achievement and mental ability to learn. The result is a new form of segregation: Instead of having a segregated school system, they now have segregation in different classrooms under the same roof.

Integration of the schools required the lowering of educational standards in order to meet the problem of teaching colored students who came over from the division II [formerly all-Negro] schools totally unprepared to pursue their studies in the grades to which they were assigned. Many were not on the grade level represented and were marked satisfactory when they were not satisfactory.

Testimony revealed that in the division II schools many promotions had been automatic, without regard to achievement. Students were placed according to their ages, sizes and social maturity.

Many children in the sixth grade could not read on the fourth-grade level to the extent that they could be taught social studies, such as geography and history.

One principal testified that she would not be able to use a great many of the sixth-grade books because of the vocabulary of the students; that it was impossible to teach geography. Her testimony was:

"I said I have a great many sixth-grade books that I won't be able to use, because of the vocabulary and, well, the whole setup. In fact, you are supposed to teach Canada and South America and that sort of thing in the sixth grade, and my sixth-grade teachers said, 'Well, they don't know where Washington is.' And it really isn't funny. It is tragic. I mean, it isn't funny. They don't know where Washington is, and they don't know enough about their own country."

The following tables give a brief view of the existing conditions in the District of Columbia in regard to the mental level and achievement of both races:

The new Washington, D. C., 4-track plan 43 and 44.

[The number of white and Negro pupils in each of the 4 tracks—placed according to mentality, and ability; also, percentage by races in each track. Report of number in 10A groups by curriculum sequences as of June 12, 1956. Senior High School Office, June 12, 1956]

Schools	Honor	s College	General	Basic	Totals
Anacostia					615
White	48	102	260	51	461
Negro		20	88	45	154
Armstrong					264
White			0	0	0
Negro			50	214	264
Cardoza					505
White		0	0	0	0
Negro		37	192	283	505
Coolidge					528
White	96	234	123	38	491
Negro		5	12	19	38
Dunbar					335
White		1	0	0	1
Negro		61	236	37	334
Eastern					553
White		23	62	9	94
Negro		63	215	181	459
McKinley			-	•	401
White	18	14	38	16	86
Negro		56	132	109	315
~ ~ 1	*******				438
White		36	45	19	114
	12	59	107	146	324
Spingarn					687
White		0	0	0	. 0
Negro		47	385	242	687
Western				1	. 307
White	66	63	62	25	216
Negro		8	36	43	91
Wilson					458
White	73	330	55	0	458
Negro		0	0	0	0
Total					5,099
White	315	803	645	158	1,921
Negro	50	356	1,453	1,319	3,178
Ğrand total .	365	1,159	2,098	1,477	5,099
Percentage:					
White		41.8	33.6	8.2	
Negro	1.5	11.3	45.7	41.5	
Number of section	ns12	38	63	57	170
Percentage of total	d 7.1	22.7	41.2	29.0	

Downston of oddy and the fadden	Percentag
Percentage of white capable of taking college preparatory courses	58.2
Corresponding percentage of Negroes	12.8
Integrated group as per cent on total enrollment National average based on the criteria of the	29.8
District of Columbia plan	50.0

Washington, D. C., intelligence tests results, 1955-56

	American Council on Education psychologica examinations	l me	California ntal-matur tests	ity —
Grades taking tests	12th grade	9th grade	6th grade	3d grade
National average	89	100	100	100
District of Columbia				
average*	69	92	98	95
White schools		104	111	105
Integrated schools	77.7	93	98	96
Negro schools		87	89	87
White and Negro				
difference in points.	40.7	17	22	18

- *Washington twelfth-grade students rate nationally as follows:
 (a) 25 per cent of them are in the low 6th percentile of United States seniors.
- (b) 50 per cent of them are below the 23d percentile of United States seniors.
 (c) 75 per cent of them are below the 56th percentile of United States seniors.

In the twelfth grade, graduates from the vocational schools

were not listed. This would have lowered the District of Columbia average. There is quite a wide difference between the average intelligence in integrated schools and all-white schools. Unless an adequate budget is set up for this group, both races will fall behind. The only way mixed classes of low mentality can hope to progress, even slowly, is to greatly reduce the size of the classes; also, take special problem cases to special school; and provide good teachers.

DISCIPLINE—TRUANCY—JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Prior to the integration of the schools in the District of Columbia there were very few unusual disciplinary problems in either of the school systems. Since the integration of the schools there have been very few unusual disciplinary problems in the predominately segregated schools.

Disciplinary problems in the predominately integrated schools have been described as appalling, demoralizing, intolerable, and disgraceful.

Fighting, lying, stealing, vandalism, obscene writing, vulgar talking, absenteeism, tardiness and truancy have increased to an amazing degree.

Mental and physical suffering has affected the health and morale of many white teachers as a reaction to these unexpected disciplinary problems that arose in the predominately integrated schools.

Some white teachers have resigned, some have retired before the fixed date for their retirement, and some have indicated they will leave the school system as soon as possible for them to do so.

For the first time in the history of some of the schools, teachers were required to police the corridors and playgrounds and cafeterias. Disorder in the classrooms greatly reduced teaching efficiency, and retarded the ability of students to learn. Police were called on numerous occasions to the various integrated schools.

The overwhelming majority of those interviewed mentioned the following items:

- (a) Stealing: Innumerable cases were reported. Several courses of study or class methods were changed because theft removed materials and supplies so rapidly they could not operate. In many schools everything must be locked up. Often keys are stolen and articles removed. Teachers showed exasperation and despair at their complete help-lessness in this phase of conduct.
- (b) Lying: In some instances, both pupils and parents would lie when the truth would serve their purpose better. Truthfulness in many schools is losing ground.
- (c) Cheating: Instances of cheating since integration have increased.
- (d) Fighting: An unusually large number of fights have occurred on the grounds, corridors, and often in the classrooms. Weapons have been taken away from pupils on numerous occasions. Serious fights were reported between whites and Negroes.
- (e) Vandalism: Wanton destruction of property has increased since integration. Teachers and principals told of the contrast before and after integration.
- (f) Obscene language: The vilest sex talk, dirty writing on the walls, foul and unspeakable language to teachers, and vicious and obscene tongue battles in classrooms, as

well as during recess, seem to occur often enough to be a major handicap to a learning situation, as well as to cultural developments.

The all-white and all-Negro schools reported little or no change in the problems of discipline in their schools. An increase of exasperating cases of discipline is a development in integrated schools of the city.

SOCIAL ACTIVITY, SEX PROBLEMS, AND DISEASE

The curtailment of normal social activities and the surprising sex problems were part of the price the people of the District of Columbia paid for an integrated school system.

One of the dangerous and deplorable developments in the District of Columbia schools is the sex attitude of the Negro-even down into the lower elementary grades. The fact that 13 little Negro girls—6 years old and under—were treated for gonorrhea in 1955 is only a sample of the sex attitude found in the District of Columbia today.

Teachers in the integrated schools reported deplorable conditions in sex contacts in their schools. Reports of attempted rape, assaults, chasing girls and even teachers, Negro girls soliciting boys at school, sex talk, and suggestive talking and attempted fondling of white girls, and innumerable sex affronts were reported by the school personnel that was interviewed.

Illegitimate children born to 15-year-old girls increased 42 per cent during the first year of integration over the previous year. Very few whites were involved. The increase for girls under 15 years of age was 23 per cent.

The Department of Health reported 854 cases of gonorrhea alone among school children in 1955–97.8 per cent were Negroes.

The following tables will show more clearly the situation confronting the school administration:

Number of cases of venereal diseases reported, by color and diagnosis, fiscal year 1955

Diagnosis	White	Colored
Total syphilis	368	2,195
Gonorrhea		10,243
Chancroid	4	91
Lymphogranuloma venereum	3	68
Granuloma inguinale	0	24
Venereal diseases, total	646	12,621

SOURCE: District of Columbia Department of Public Health.

Illegitimate births

Year	Total	White	Nonwhite	1	
1945	1,954	483	1,471	75	25
1946	2,192 .	563	1,629	74	23
1947	2,249	523	1,717	77	21
1948	2,628	525	2,103	80	23
1949	2,424	417	2,007	81	. 22
1950	2,801	505	2,296	82	. 23
1951	3,068	552	2,516	82	24
1952	3,395	59 1	2,804	83	26
1953	3,669	620	3,049	83	26.5
1954	3,745	617	3,128	84	u: 26

SOURCE: District of Columbia Department of Public Health, Biostatistics and Health, Education Division.

Quoting Howard West on ringworm of the scalp, 1955: ... "There were 1,664 new cases, of which 124 were white and 1,540 nonwhite: The nonwhite cases represented 92.5 per cent of the total.

THE OVERCROWDING-CLASS SIZE

The District of Columbia school officials constantly referred to overcrowding in buildings and large classes as a cause of low achievement. However, the Washington Negro's class load improved during the war years, and was lower in 1953-54 than in 1939-40. This is true of elementary, junior and senior high schools.

The claims regarding lack of space are not borne out by the facts. The records submitted give the following information:

The city transferred 20 white schools to Negroes, 1946 to 1953, pupil capacity—10,770

27 new Negro buildings were constructed, adding pupil capacity

9 Negro buildings were under construction prior to September, 1954, adding pupil capacity-5,022

Total additional Negro pupils desks in use, or in sight after 1946 and before September, 1954, were—30,062

Negro enrollment:

	1946-47	1953-54
Elementary-	25,963	37,588
Junior high school-	8,633	13,257
Senior high school-	4,666	5,729
Total-	39,262	56 574

Total Negro growth (1946-53), elementary, junior and senior schools -17.312

With 25,000 additional desks in use and 5,000 more in sight, and an increase of only 17,312 pupils, the crowded conditions and lack of assigned Negro teachers needs full explanation and investigation. Data to explain this situation is lacking.

FINANCES

The difficulties being encountered in the District of Columbia public schools cannot be attributed to the lack of finances.

Appropriations for school operation and capital improvement, as well as salaries paid to teachers, were far in excess of the overwhelming majority of school districts in the United States, and also very respectable when compared with the school districts much larger than Washington.

The United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare revealed the following for the year 1954-55:

Washington, with 95,000 students in average daily attendance, spent \$1.71 per pupil per day, or \$307.80 per year.

Neighboring Baltimore, with 133,122 students in average daily attendance, spent \$1.45 per pupil per day, or \$269.70 per year.

Philadelphia, with 202,822 students in average daily attendance, spent \$1.72 per pupil per day, or \$323.37 per year.

Detroit, with 239,226 students in average daily attendance, spent \$1.73 per pupil per day, or \$321.78 per year.

Cleveland, with 105,759 students in average daily attendance, spent \$1.75 per pupil per day, or \$322 per year.

Houston, with 117,000 students in average daily attendance, spent \$1.27 per pupil per day or \$222.25 per year.

Dallas, with 81,264 students in average daily attendance, spent \$1.33 per pupil, or \$236.74 per year.

Memphis, with 66,556 students in average daily attendance, spent 77 cents per pupil, or \$138.60 per year.

From 1953 through 1957, inclusive, \$175,132,073 was appropriated for operating expenses, teachers' retirement fund and capital improvements to the District of Columbia schools.

Compared with other school districts, the teachers of the District of Columbia are well paid. Teachers' salaries are paid on basis of bachelor of science and master's degrees.

The minimum salary paid in the District schools to a teacher with a bachelor's degree is \$3,900. This ranks the District fourth among the following cities in the United States: Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit, Washington, Cleveland, New York, San Francisco, Milwaukee, Buffalo, Boston, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Houston.

The minimum salary paid in the District to a teacher with a master's degree is \$4,400. This ranks Washington first among the following cities in the United States: Washington, Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, New York, San Francisco, Cleveland, Buffalo, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Houston and New Orleans.

The maximum salary paid in the District to a teacher with a master's degree is \$6,300. This ranks the District sixth among the cities heretofore set out.

Having heretofore set out in considerable detail the various phases of the District of Columbia school operation and the problem of juvenile delinquency as pertaining to said schools, the subcommittee, after a very careful review of the established facts, concludes and finds that:

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

1. The board of education, without sufficient consideration of the enormous problem, with scant preparation and without adequate study or survey of known integrated school systems, too hastily ordered the integration of the District of Columbia schools.

2. The forced integration of the schools in the District of Columbia greatly accelerated an exodus of the white residents to the suburban areas of Virginia and Maryland. The present exodus seriously threatens the educational, economic, cultural, religious and social foundation of the District. If the exodus continues at its present rate, the District will become a predominantly Negro community in the not-too-distant future.

3. The integration of the schools in the District of Columbia has focused attention upon the differences in ability to learn and educational achievement between the average white and Negro students, as reflected by the national standardized tests.

4. The wide disparity in mental ability to learn and educational achievement between the white and Negro students has created a most difficult teaching situation in the integrated schools. So much of the time of the teachers is being taken up in teaching the retarded students that the capable students are not receiving the proper time and attention and are therefore failing to develop in accordance with their educational ability.

5. The majority of white principals and teachers faced the challenge presented by integration with high morale, cooperation and determination. At the outset, many felt that integration was correct. After two years of trial, many of these same principals and teachers testified that the integration of the schools has been of little or no benefit to either race. The morale of some has been shattered, their health has been impaired, and some have separated themselves from the school system by resignation and early retirement. The replacement of these teachers presents a very serious problem to the District schools because white-teacher applications have declined materially.

6. Discipline problems and delinquency resulting from the integration of the schools have been appalling. It was unexpected and came as a great shock.

While there were no new discipline problems in the schools that were not materially integrated, the unpreparedness for the turmoil that ensued disrupted the orderly administration of the predominantly integrated schools.

This condition had a very pronounced effect in retarding the educational progress of the students.

A continuation of this situation will ultimately destroy the effectiveness of teaching in the integrated schools.

7. Sex problems in the predominantly integrated schools have become a matter of vital concern to the parents.

One out of every four Negro children born in the District of Columbia is illegitimate.

The number of cases of venereal disease among Negroes of school age has been found to be astounding and tragic.

The Negro has demonstrated a sex attitude from the primary to high-school grades that has greatly alarmed white parents and is a contributing cause of the exodus of the white residents of the District of Columbia.

The integrated schools have found it necessary to curtail greatly, and in many cases eliminate completely, social activities formerly considered a vital element in the education of students in the segregated schools.

8. The operation and maintenance of the District schools have been more adequately financed than the average school system. From this standpoint they compare favorably with the outstanding school systems in the nation. The teachers' salary scale is among the highest.

The two years' experience with the operation of the integrated District school system has conclusively shown that the cost of operating the integrated schools will be substantially increased.

Requests for additional funds by the school administration and the increased budget and capital outlay substantiate this finding.

These demands are being made in the light of the fact that the total school population has not materially increased in the past three years.

- 9. On the average, the Negro students, because of limited achievements, are unable to compete scholastically with the more advanced white students. This condition imposes upon the slower students a psychological barrier denoting inferiority, and manifests itself in social misbehavior.
- 10. The committee concludes that the integrated school system of the District of Columbia is not a model to be copied by other communities in the United States. On the contrary, it finds that the integrated school system in the District of Columbia cannot be copied by those who seek an orderly and successful school operation.

Pursuant to the above-mentioned findings, the subcommittee recommends that legislation be enacted to accomplish—

1. Liberalization of present student-transfer policies in order to permit children to be moved from one school to another in accordance with the needs of the child and the desires of the parents.

2. The creation of separate continuation and trade schools for pupils of low mental ability incapable of achieving at

the high-school level.

The establishment of separate schools, with adequately trained personnel, for the housing and teaching of atypical students.

4. The establishment of a separate training school for the housing and teaching of chronic delinquents and incorrigible students.

5. Modification of the present school-attendance laws, so as to confer upon school officials greater latitude in their

authority to deal with individual problem cases.

6. The maintenance of records, statistical data and other official information relating to the operation of the District of Columbia schools by sex and race.

7. The creation of a high-standard, city-wide technical high school.

8. Conversion of the District of Columbia Teachers College to a two-year junior college.

9. The employment of competent and capable teachers to be restricted to applicants who have successfully passed the national teachers' examination.

10. A method by which members of the board of education may be removed from their positions for cause.

Some Committee Members Say: Return to Segregation

Following is full text of "additional views" filed as a supplement to the report and signed by four members:

We believe that the recommendations contained in the sub-committee report, if enacted, would serve to improve public-school education in the District of Columbia; however, on the basis of information furnished the subcommittee during the hearings, we are of the opinion that the act of integrating the former division I and division II schools has seriously damaged the public-school system in the District of Columbia.

The evidence taken as a whole points to a definite impairment of educational opportunities for members of both white and Negro races as a result of integration with little prospect of remedy in the future.

Therefore, we recommend that racially separate public schools be re-established for the education of white and Negro pupils in the District of Columbia, and that such schools be maintained on a completely separate and equal basis.

James C. Davis John Bell Williams Woodrow W. Jones Joel T. Broyhill

Recommended Reading

PUBLICATIONS

(All literature postpaid)

PAMPHLETS

Black Monday [Book] \$1.00

By Judge Tom P. Brady

Where Is the Reign of Terror?

By Cong. John Bell Williams

The Supreme Court Must Be Curbed

By James F. Byrnes

A Christian View on Segregation

By Rev. Guy T. Gillespie

The Ugly Truth About the NAACP

By Att'y-Gen. Eugene Cook

We've Reached Era of Judicial Tyranny

By Sen. James O. Eastland

Conflicting Views on Segregation

By Dr. D. M. Nelson

Interposition, the Barrier Against Tyranny

By Cong. John Bell Williams

The Citizen's Council

By R. B. Patterson

How Senate and House Members Voted (Crisis)

A Jewish View On Segregation

By a Jewish Southerner

Prices of pamphlets listed above are:

10.....\$1.00 50.

50.....\$4.00

100.....\$6.00

Congressional Committee Report on What Happened When Schools Were Integrated in Washington, D. C......100 for \$7.00

SINGLE SHEETS

Is Segregation Unchristian?

The St. Louis Story

Dr. Nelson's Letter to "Life"

Crime Report

Prominent Kingstree Negro Makes Frank Statement (Single sheets listed above are 100—\$3.00)

Confederate Flag.....50-\$2.50; 100-\$4.00; 500-\$12.00

Each Council should upon occasion mail certain pieces of this literature to every member of their Council or either distribute them at meetings. The Directors should urge all members to write to friends and relatives in other States and to pass this literature on to them so that each person can do his part in presenting the case for the South.

Write: Association of Citizens' Councils 207 West Market Street Greenwood, Mississippi

WHEN YOU FINISH READING THIS PASS IT ON TO SOMEONE ELSE.

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On 12/13/56 all inquimes by Bureau concerning citizens couzils were discontinued and Department advised. By memorandum 1/28/57 Department suggested inquiries be continued on those councils, the leaders of which advocate or commit acts of violence to maintain segregation. In reply 2/4/57 we advised Department no investigation would be instituted concerning any council in absence of request from Department as to the organization involved and basis for investigation desired. In memorandum 2/21/57 Department advised the matter of designating citizens councils under Executive Order 10450 had been referred to the Office of Legal Counsel in Department. In the attached the Department is advising no further investigation of citizens councils should be conducted with a view towards their designation under this Executive Order. However, Department requests it be advised of any possible civil rights violation growing out of activities of these organizations.

STANDARD FORM NO 64 Office Memorandum . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT Mr. ... TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation Terch 29 Mis. WO:MWH:sbh : Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General, 146-200-2-012 Criminal Division SUBJECT: Designation of Organizations Pursuant to Executive Order 10450 Seaboard Citizens Council and Similar Groups CARTZENS. Reference is made to my memorandum of February 21, 1957. The Office of the Attorney General, the Office of Legal Counsel and the Internal Security Division have concluded that no further investigation of the Seaboard Citizens Council or similar organizations (such as referred to in my February 21 memorandum) should be conducted with a view towards having such organizations listed under the provisions of Executive Order 10450. However, please keep us advised of all information which may come to the attention of the Bureau concerning such activities of these organizations as may involve possible deprivations of Constitutional rights. We will review such activities for the purpose of determining whether violations of 18 U.S.C. 241 or 242 are involved. Will Rights Scations Let AAb Tourskins ce Rney 3-19-57 par Balment , Boandward 3/8/5 W/ let AT 15-8" MAR 26 1957 60 APR 8

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Office Memorandum . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : L. V. Boardman

DATE: March 29, 1957

FROM : A. H. Belmon

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS - Mind INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Field instructed 12/13/56 to discontinue all inquiries relative to citizens councils. Department advised of this action relative to citizens councils. Department suggested relative to citizens or commit acts of force and violence to maintain segregation. In reply 2/4/57 we advised Department all information which had been received relative to citizens councils had been furnished Department; that we would continue to furnish any pertinent data obtained but no investigation would be instituted in absence of request from Department as to organization involved and basis for investigation desired. Bureau was advised in memorandum 2/21/57 that question of whether citizens councils and similar organizations may be designated under Executive Order 10450 had been referred to the Office of Legal Counsel in Department and that Bureau would be advised of decision.

On 3/25/57 Department advised no further investigation of Seaboard White Citizens' Councils (John Kasper's outfit) or similar organizations should be conducted with a view toward designation under Executive Order 10450. Department requested, however, that information regarding any activities of these councils which might involve violations of Civil Rights Statutes be furnished Department for review.

In addition to Civil Rights matters, violations such as Assaulting a Federal Officer and Contempt of Court have grown out of racial incidents involving citizens councils; therefore, field is being instructed to be alert for any Federal violations

RECOMMENDATION:

RECORDED - 3, 6 APR 4 1957

Attached for your approval is the yellow file copy of a letter to Atlanta, copies to other offices which have handled inquiries concerning citizens councils, the original of which is on plastiplate, again instructing field to be alert for information regarding these organizations particularly activities which might involve violations of Federal statutes and to handle such information in accordance with existing instructions pertaining to specific violations indicated. Enclosure

105-34237

cc Mr. Boardman

cc Mr. Belmont cc Mr. Rosen

cc Mr. McGowan

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Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins

March 29, 1957

Director, FBI

DESIGNATION OF ORGANIZATIONS
PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER 10450
SEABOARD CITIZENS COUNCILD Gen 1
AND SIMILAR GROUPS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8/30/83 BY Se.7

Reference is made to the memorandum from Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III dated February 21, 1957, captioned "Designation of Organizations Pursuant to Executive Order 10450," Department's reference WO:mmr 146-200-2-012, and to the memorandum from Assistant Attorney General Olney dated March 25, 1957, captioned as above, Department's reference WO:MWH:sbh 146-200-2-012.

In the memorandum of February 21, 1957, reference was made to Ku Klux Klan and citizens council organizations generally, and to the Gulf Ku Klux Klan and Seaboard White Citizens' Council specifically.

In the memorandum of March 25, 1957, the Bureau was advised that "The Office of the Attorney General, the Office of Legal Counsel and the Internal Security Division have concluded that no further investigation of the Seaboard Citizens Council or similar organizations (such as referred to in my February 21 memorandum) should be conducted with a view towards having such organizations listed under the provisions of Executive Order 10450."

It is presumed that the instructions in the memorandum of March 25, 1957, pertain only to citizens councils and do not include Klan organizations. In this regard your attention is directed to your memorandum dated February 27, 1957, captioned "U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., Klavern 23, Montgomery, Alabama," in which the Bureau was requested to furnish information to the Department concerning the availability.

(U. S. Klans)

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(Seaboard White Citizens W Council

THE COURT

Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins

and willingness of informants to testify in connection with the possible designation of the U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Incorporated, under Executive Order 10+50.

cc Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Λ	TO :	Director, FB	I (105-34237-S	ub-28)	Date: April 1	2, 1957	r
	FROM :	SAC, Memphis	(105-269)		D)/	_ /
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

April 12, 1957

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS MEMPHIS DIVISION

There is set out hereinafter a summary of Citizens Council activities in the Memphis Division during the past month:

TENNESSEE FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

On April 2, 1957, Memphis Confidential Informant T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, and who requests her name be kept confidential, was contacted. She stated that there are no Citizens Councils operating in Nashville, Tennessee or the surrounding area to her knowledge. She advised that the only organization presently operating in Nashville in the field of segregation to her knowledge is the TFCG. She advised that they are still working on behalf of the defendants in the Clinton, Tenn. case and are trying to help solicit funds for their defense. She furnished a reprint of an article appearing in the Nashville Banner January 2, 1957, which is being distributed by the TFCG and which is entitled "The Clinton Issue: Can One Judge Topple the United States Constitution." She stated that they are also distributing a repring of an address by the Honorable JAMES F. BYRNES at the Annual Peoria Meeting and Lincoln Day Dinner which appeared in the Congressional Record of February 14, 1957. This address concerns the constitutionality of the recent Supreme Court decisions.

On March 31, 1957, an article appeared in the Nashville Banner, a daily newspaper, stating that JACK KERSHAW, Chairman of the States Rights Legislative Committee, (also Vice Chairman of the TFCG) had stated that R.G. CROSSNO was "misinformed" judging from reasons he gave for withdrawing support of a Clinton segregation resolution. The resolution called for the Governor of Tennessee to use his police power to remove Negroes for integrated Clinton High School and was previously supported by CROSSNO. It was still supported by KERSHAW.

An article appeared in the Nashville Banner on March 22, 1957, stating that eleven Nashville citizens sought to intervene in a Federal Court case involving an earlier court ruling which opened Nashville's public golf courses to Negroes. The attorney for these citizens was listed as SIMS CROWNOVER, who is also an attorney for the TFCG.

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Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION

25 6

April 12, 1957

Memphis Confidential Informant T-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past, and who is familiar with the activities of this organization in Memphis, Tennessee and generally throughout the state, advised it is still extremely active in connection with various legal phases of its opposition to integration. Informant particularly indicated that it was interested in the Clinton case and was interested in the public school integration case in Federal Court in Nashville, Tennessee. Informant knew of no proposed mass meetings or public activities which were planned during the forthcoming month.

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF TENNESSEE

On March 25, 1957, T-2, supra, advised that this organization, which has never been active except in Memphis, and to a limited extent in the adjoining counties, is practically defunct. Informant noted that a Southeast Memphis group has split and so far as he knows has discontinued meetings. Informant stated that who was formerly active in the affairs of the group and an official thereof, is being sued in local courts because of his failure to pay certain bills for which he obligated himself on behalf of the organization. Informant stated that the group in the Berclair Community of Memphis is continuing to hold meetings on a very small scale and probably will not be able to continue. He noted that a Germantown, Tennessee (suburb of Memphis) group is continuing to meet but considers itself completely independent of the Association.

Informant noted that this organization has split up so much that there is no centralized direction and the several little community groups which continue to operate are doing so on an independent basis, and that it is actually a misnomer to speak of it as Association of Citizens Councils. He noted, however, the group has not to his knowledge affiliated with any other organization.

PRO-SOUTHERNERS

T-2, supra, further advised that the P-S have closed the office which they formerly maintained in Shelby County at 3381 Raleigh-Millington Road, and that the records thereof have been moved to the home of for the organization. Informant states that meetings are continuing at Frayser, Tennessee, and that one group is continuing to meet in Southeast Wemphis.

The Southern School News in the April 1957 issue on Page 12 reports that HARRY WILLIAM PYLE, the founder of the P-S, who quit in disgust, died in Memphis February 28, 1957. The article stated that in 1953 PYLE, a retired paint contractor and former Klansman,

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION April 12, 1957

started the P-S. It quoted his family as having stated at the time of his death that he had no contact with the organization after his resignation in March of 1955.

The article further quoted PYLE as having stated that at the time he resigned many of his organization's chapters had stopped meeting.

T-1 advised that she knew of no activity on the part of b6 any Klan organization but did know that Nashville Klan b7c leader and former P-S leader, appeared at the State Capitol at the same time that a motorcade of persons lobbying for stronger racial segregation laws came there in February of 1957.

On April 3, 1957, Memphis Confidential Informant T-3, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that he knows of no Citizens Councils in Nashville. He stated that still interested in the U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., b7D and apparently has no further interest in keeping the P-S going. He stated that so far as he knows the P-S are now out of existence in Nashville.

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ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

The above Southern School News on Page 15 contains the following reference to this organization:

"Daughters of the American Revolution commended the Association of Citizens Councils in a resolution adopted in its state convention at Biloxi, saying:

"'Our beloved state has had the experience of dwelling in harmony and understanding since Reconstruction Days with our colored friends and has enjoyed a racial tranquility for the past two years when many other states have been torn by strife due to their efforts to mix the races in schools and to promote integration, mainly because of many of our state's most representative citizens being organized into Citizens Councils ... '

"Addressing the Canton Lions Club March 20, Robert B. Patterson, executive secretary of the Mississippi Association of Citizens Councils, said before the organization came into being 'the South lost every battle for racial integrity by default.'

"Patterson said since the 1954 start of Citizens Councils in Mississippi, the organization has spread to 29 other states. He said Alabama and Louisiana now have more members than does Mississippi, Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION

April 12, 1957

and that 'there is even a council in New York.'

"He said during the past year the state association has raised and spent \$115,000 'to get the truth to the people about racial integrity; to nullify the propaganda of the NAACP and to present the case of the South to our northern brethern.'"

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SAC, New Orleans

April 23, 1957

Director, FBI (105-34237)

CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS INTERNAL SECURITY - X

ReBulets dated January 4, 1957, and March 19, 1957 captioned as above, and rerep of Special Agent Ernest C. Wall, Jr., captioned "Farmerville Citizens Councily Internal Security - X," dated April 10, 1957.

Bufiles fail to reflect receipt of reports in the following cases involving citizens councils in which Civil Rights and Election Law investigations were conducted by your office:

Citizens Council of Bienville Parish

Citizens Council of Caldwell Parish (New Orleans File 105-673, Bufile 105-50956)

Citizens Council of DeSoto Parish (New Orleans File 105-643, Bufile 105-49819)

Citizens Council of LaSalle Parish (New Orleans File 105-684, Bufile 105-53056)

Citizens Council of Lincoln Parish

Citizens Council of Rapides Parish (New Orleans File 105-655, Bufile 105-49718)

Expedite submission of reports in these cases as instructed in reBulet January 4, 1957.

RECORDED-98

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EX-135

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE: May 14, 1957

TO: Director, FBI(105-34237-Sub-28)

FROM: SAC, Memphis(105-269)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS — GRAL.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

IS - X

Pursuant to instructions in Bureau letter of December 13, 1956, there are submitted herewith an original and eleven copies of a summary memorandum of Citizens Councils in this Division.

T-1 referred to in the blank memorandum is who furnished information to which is originally reported herein.

2- Bureau(105-34237-Sub-28) (encl.-12) RM

1- Bureau(105-44096) (ACCT) RM

1- Bureau(105-28645) (P-S) RM 1- Bureau(105-34237) (ACCM) RM

T- Bureau(105-40707) (TFCG) RM

1- Memphis (105-98) (P-S)

1- Memphis (105-157) (ACCT)

1- Memphis (105-121) (ACCM)

1- Memphis (105-148) (TFCG)

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Office Memorandum • United States Government

TO

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE:

May 15 1957

FROM : William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General

Internal Security Division

Designation of Organizations Pursuant to Executive Order 10450 - Seaboard Citizens

Council and Similar Groups

Reference is made to your memorandum of March 29, 1957 in which you refer to correspondence between the Bureau and the Criminal and Internal Security Divisions of the Department with reference to the above-entitled matter.

Your presumption that the instructions contained in the memorandum of March 25, 1957 pertained only to Citizens Councils and other similar segregationist groups is correct. The meeting referred, to in this memorandum dealt only with such organizations and no deter mination was made relative to the discontinuance of investigation of Klan-type organizations.

RECORDED - 80 105-34231 We would appreciate it if you would continue to furnish in formation in these matters in accordance with our memorandum to you MAY 18 1957 dated January 28, 1957.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: June 5, 1957

FROM : The Executives Conference

SUBJECT DISCONTINUANCE OF WONTHLY
SUMMARIES CONCERNING CITIZENS COUNCILS

Tedter _____ se ___ Tele. Room _ Holloman

Tolson Nichols

Rosen

Tamm

On June 4, 1957, the Executives Conference, consisting of Hollows Tolson, Nichols, Hollowan, Tamm, Rosen, Belmont, D. E. Moore, Nease, Parsons, Trotter and Mohr, considered the question of whether or not it is necessary to obtain monthly summaries from those field offices following activities of Citizens Councils concerning activities of these groups.

On December 13, 1956, offices were instructed to discontinue inquiries concerning Citizens Councils, but to keep abreast of developments in order that the Bureau could be informed of any situation indicative of potential violence. Monthly summaries are submitted by these offices and upon receipt they are reviewed and disseminated to the Department and intelligence agencies of the Armed Forces.

Mr. Belmont recommended to the Conference that these monthly summaries be discontinued as an economy measure and instead the field be instructed to forward important developments on these matters on a continuing basis as they occur thereby complying with the Bureau's responsibilities in the security field.

Recommendation of the Executives Conference:

The Executives Conference unanimously agreed that these monthly summaries should be discontinued and the field instructed to forward important developments to the Bureau as they occur.

There is attached for approval a yellow of a Plastiplate to 25 field offices who have been submitting these monthly summaries.

Enclosure
cc: Mr. Tolson
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nease
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Raumaardner

WVC: mpp (9)
mtp

opy for

SAC, Atlanta

June 5. 1957

RECORDED-92 Director. FBI (105-34237)

CITIZENS COUNCILS INTERNAL SECURITY - X

ReBulet 12/13/56 which directed that offices submit to the Bureau a monthly summary of information concerning the activities of citizens councils.

Effective immediately, offices receiving copies of this letter should discontinue the practice of submitting such monthly summaries. However, in order that the Bureau may continue to carry out its responsibility of keeping interested Government agencies advised of pertinent information, you are instructed to forward information concerning important developments regarding citizens councils to the Bureau as they occur. Such information should be submitted to the Bureau in memorandum form suitable for dissemination.

Beltimore Birmingham Charlotte Dallas Detroit Houston COMM - FBI Kansas City Knoxville 1957 Little Rock MAILED 18 Los Angeles Louisville Memphis

2 - Miami Mobile Newerk New Orleans Norfolk Oklahome City Richmond St. Louis San Antonio San Francisco Savannah Washington Field

NOTE:

Nichols . Boardman .

This is an attochment to memo from Executive Conference to Mr. Tolson dated 6/5/57, re "Discontinuance of Monthly Summaries Concerning Citizens Councils." WVC:mpp.

JGK:aml

Original on Plastiplate.

MAIL ROOM 🗀

Nease Tele, Roof Holloman .

Belmont .

Mohr. Parsons Rosen Tamm Trotter

·b7C 1 - Section tickler

- J. Johnson

3 - Original and copy 1 - 105-34237

1 - Yellow file copy June 25, 1957

SAC, Memphis

Director, FBI (100-352546)

PURCHASE OF BOOK CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER CITIZENS COUNCIL.

You should discreetly obtain one copy of "Status of School Segregation--Desegregation in the Southern and Border States." This statistical summary, prepared and published by Southern Education Reporting Service, 1109 19th Avenue, South, Nashville, Tennessee, is available at \$1 per copy. The summary should be forwarded to the Bureau by routing slip, attention Central Research Section.

AMB:hem

1, JUN 26 1957

207 WEST MARKET ST EPHONE: 3960 COUNCILS of AMI RACIAL INTEGRITY STATES' RIGHTS Mr. Belmont. Mr. Mohr GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI Mr. Part as Mr. R. sen July 2, 1957 Tcle. Room. Mr. Holloman Miss Gandy Citizeris Councils Mr. John Edgar Hoover Federal Bureau of Investigation Washington, D. C. Dear Mr. Hoover: Here is a clipping from the Commercial Appeal which is self explanatory. I do not believe that President Eisenhower comprehends the damage that will be done by the Civil Rights Bill. I believe that the passage of this Bill, and its attempted enforcement, will lead to utter chaos and confusion in the South. When will this madness end? Sincerely Secretary Citizens' Council RBP:mt Enclosure INDEXED - 96 20 JUL 11 1957

Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our Community and in our State and to the preservation of our State's Rights.



* PASSIVE RESISTANCE SUGGESTEDEBY JUDGE

Alabama Jurist Tells How To **Fight Civil Rights**

CLAYTON, Ala., July 1.—(AP)
—Circuit Judge George Wallace offered a passive resistance formula Monday for combatting civil rights laws in the South.

1 If President Eisenhower's program now pending in the Senate senacted, Judge Wallace said outhern law enforcement offiders should refuse to co-operate with Federal authorities in investigations.

In a charge to a county grand jury, the judge said the FBI and other Federal agencies have been successful in the past only because of "the co-operation of lo-cal law enforcement agencies and

local people."

Without that co-operation, he said, "the Federal authorities would not know where to turn."

Judge Wallace, who once threatened to jail any Federal agent caught investigating "our courts," predicted that "999 out of 1,000" investigations resulting from passage of shift lights less. from passage of civil rights legis-lation would be "spurious and in-spired either for political rea-sons or spite."

> The Commercial Appeal Memphis, Tennessee July 2, 1957

RECORDED - 96

July 8, 1957

INDEXED . 96 115 347 37

Mr. Robert B. Patterson 207 West Market Street Greenwood, Miestesippi

Dear Mr. Patterson:

I have received your letter of July 2, 1987, with enclosure, and the interest prompting yea to write is appreciated.

It was thoughtful of you to furnish me your observations relative to proposed civil rights legislation new being considered in Congress, and I wast to thank you for your clipping regarding this matter from "The Commercial Appeal." As I related in my letter to you pf December 28, 1956, the FBI does not make policy. Our responsibility is to conduct investigations and to secure facts. Generally speaking, our relations with state and local law enforcement agencies in the South have been excellent, and, of course, it is my sincere hope that they will continue to be so. I do think that law-abiding citizens will recognize that the FBI must do its duty, and in doing so, it will always maintain the high principles under which it has operated in the past.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover Director

cc - Memphis, with copy of incoming and copy of enclosure.

cc - Birmingham, with copy of incoming and copy of enclosure. cc - Mobile, with copy of proming and copy of enclosure.

cc - Domestic Intelligence Division, with conv of incoming.

NOTE: Bufiles reflect previous correspondence with Patterson. He has been used as a source of information concerning the Citizens' Councils by Agents of the Memphis Office. He last wrote the Director on 12-13-56 pointing out that the FBI had lost respect in the South in connection with integration. The Director sent a reply on 12-28-56 pointing out that this Bureau is merely a fact-pathering as an as such does not make policy, and he was told that it was hoped that thinking people will recognize that an organization such as would continue on the same high standards.

SAC, New Orleans

CITIZENS! COUNCILS NEW ORLEANS DIVISION INTERNAL SECURITY - X

00: New Orleans

Re Bulet to Atlanta June 5, 1957, entitled "Citizens' Councils, IS-X."

As instructed by referenced letter, the New Orleans Office is discontinuing submitting monthly summaries in captioned case. However, the Bureau will be advised of pertinent information as instructed by referenced Bureau letter 6-5-57.

3 - Bureau (105-34237 Sub 33) (Registered Mail) (1 - 105-34237) 2 - New Orleans (105-761) (105-507)

RFC:eo

(5)

NOT RECORDED '50 JUL 19 1957

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

May

SAC, NEW ORLEANS

CITIZENS' COUNCILS NEW ORLEANS DIVISION INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Re New Orleans letter to Bureau dated July 16, 1957.

By an appropriate telephone pretext, information was received on July 19, 1957, from the office of the Citizens' Council of New Orleans, Balter Building, that the Citizens' Council Bulletin has now been discontinued by the Citizens' Council of New Orleans.

COUNTRAL.

No further bulletins will be issued.

3 - Bureau (105-34237 Sub 33) (Registered Mail) (1-105-34237) 2 - New Orleans (105-761)(105-587) RFC:ejf (5)

NOT RECORDED

194 AUG 1 1957

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DRIGINAL FILED IN

For Clugello. Sept 5, 1957 My dear Mr. Hoover: Dre rest these Cetigens Coursells! Coustinery volence against goverhuncet? It bo, are Leave do aquettiere about

ens Courtles Game

TRUE COPY

Los Angeles 38 Calif. Sept. 5, 1957

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Are not these Citizens Councils conspiring violence against the government? If so, are they not subversive?

Please do something about this stoning of innocent children - I do not like to be ashamed of being a white American -

Very truly yours

/s/

4 mals

The state of the s

September 16, 1957

Los Angeles 38, California

X. - 137

Dear

RECORDED - 28/03

INDEXED - 26 Your letter postmarked September 7, 1957, has been received, and I appreciate the thought prompting your writing.

In response to your inquiry, I must inform you that information in FBI files is confidential and available for official use only. I would like to point out also that this Bureau is strictly a fact-gathering agency and does not make evaluations or draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual.

I know you will understand the reasons for these rules and will not infer either that we do or that we do not have information relating to the groups you named. I can assure you, however, that the FBI is continuing to discharge its responsibilities in protecting the internal security of our Nation within the limitations of our jurisdiction.

Sincerely yours,

	MAILED 8			
	SEP 1 6 1957		J. Edgar Hoover	
	COMM-FBI ZEI	16 5 47 24 57	John Edgar Hoover	
"JENH	4.		Director	
		S. OEPT. OF 34571		

Tolson _____ 2 UEb...
Nichols ______
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Parsons _____

Parsons 675EP 200957

Trotter _____ DGL:pw
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____ (3)
Holloman _____

Room 1704

MJ

N. a.

سرفلا

October 7, 1967

memorandum for Mr. Tolson

MR. BOARDMAN

MR. BELMONT

MR. ROSEN

MR. NICHOLS

Today, following the larger conference held to discuss the Little Rock, Arkaneas situation, I conferred with the Attorney General in order to take up with the Attorney General the request which he had made me in his memorandum of September 30, to confer with him about the cres of a new Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice.

The Attorney General stated he thought it was most necessary act rather promotiven the setting up of the new Civil Rights Division, and I told him I thought his observation was certainly sound. He also indicates was considering naming some Assistant Attorney General, now already in ? Department, to head up this Division rather than saming a new one from to outside to take over these duties. I told the Attorney General I considered to be a wise move, provided a man of soundness, patience and objectivity: solected.

I gave to the Attorney General a copy of our SAC Letter 57-51. issued on September 10, 1967, and which in part deals with the work of the Dureau in the field of civil rights under the new logislation. The Attorney General read this and commented favorably upon it.

The Attorney General inquired of me as to whether exbe necessary for us to have additional funds to carry out our fo under this new legislation. I told the Attorney General that in the first place I wanted to make the suggestion to him that the investigative work in this Π_i be carried on by some force other than the FBI and I suggested that investi, of some type be set up and directed by the new Civil Rights Division in ordthe Bureau equid be completely relieved of this responsibility. I tald the 🦠 General that I made this observation because of the intolerable situations as have developed during the last year and months in trying to headle the inverwork in this field. I elted the innumerable delays with which the Bureau he faced in getting any decisions from the Criminal Division as to actions to

Belmont .. Mohr. Parsons .. Rosen. Tamm

Boardman _

Tolson Nichols

Trotter

54 NT 27 1957117 OCT 17 1957

SENT FROM D. O. TIME 9 43 Am 10 8-57 DATE -

Tele. Room - TELE: TLC

Holloma:

Mesers. Tolson, Boardman, Belmost, Rosen, Nichols

October 7

taken; the loguesity of United States Attorneys and of officials of the Depart Washington dealing with matters in the civil rights field when I strongly there should be no statements of any kind made other than by the Attorney General or the Deputy Attorney General; the irresponsibility of Assistant of States Attorneys, some of whom handle civil rights cases, and I cited partitive case in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and the captions criticism of Assis Attorney General Olney about the FBI not keeping the United States Attorney Little Rock advised of developments in that area when, after we made inquised the United States Attorney, he stated he had made no such criticism but other extent felt that the FBI should be given a medal for the outstanding joined done. I said that all of these factors certainly did not tend to make a a working team and one that would get the best results and it was for that recorded to the Bureau being relieved of investigative responsibility field.

The Attorney General said he could appreciate my feelings in a matter but he, of course, could not consider setting up another investigation with in the Department and he believed that the Assistant Attorney General would head the Civil Rights Division would be able to work out problems the Bureau so as not to cause the irritations we had experienced in the pro-

I told the Attorney General that being the case the Bureau would very likely need additional funds to carry on its functions in the civil right field for the balance of this year, as well as for the next fiscal year, because if we had some cases like the Little Rock, Arkansas case arise in the next it would cost us a considerable amount of money in an over-all yearly estimate our budget estimate as he well know was on a very tight basis. He require to look into this matter and to submit a memorandum to Deputy Attorne General Rogers as to any supplemental appropriations we might need. The ached Mr. Belment to discuss this matter with Mr. Teleon.

The Attorney General inquired of me as to whether or not we say informants inside the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan. I the Attorney General that we did have informants in the Ku Klux Klan but to upon Departmental instructions we had not placed informants in the White Citizens Councils. The Attorney General stated in view of the Little Rock. Arkaneas situation and the fact that a number of the principal disturbers of peace there were members of the White Citizens Council, he believed the i should now take stops to obtain the necessary coverage in the White Citizen Councils, but should exercise such coverage with the utmost discretion. I maken to Mr. Belment about this.

Messrs. Tolsen, Beardman, Belmont, Resen, Nichols

October 7, 1957

I called the Atterney General's attention to the fact that we were handleapped in our investigation of civil rights matters because our Agents did not have the right to administer eaths. I stated we had such authority by statute, I believed, in two classes of cases. The Atterney General suggested that I send through a memorandum recommending that the Department obtain the necessary logislation that would give the FBI Agents authority to administer eaths in all classes of cases. I have asked Mr. Belmont to discuss this matter with Mr. Telson.

I look occasion during this comperence with the Attorney General
to bring up the matter of Mr. Morris Erast and his recent conference with
of the Internal Security Division of the Department, and
action in referring Ernst back to the FBI when Ernst had been
told some weeks ago that we could not release any information
to him or be in a position to cooperate with him in the current investigation
which he is carrying on for President Trujillo, of the Deminican Republic,
into the case. The Attorney General has asked that I send him an
extra copy of our recent memorandum to the Atterney General about the
Ernst matter. I have asked Mr. Belment to see that a copy is sent to the
Attorney General. The Attorney General agreed with me that there should be
no information supplied to Mr. Ernst by the FBI and he indicated he would take
to see that no one in the Department did so.
▼

I also called the Attorney General's attention to the imporative need for some definite action being taken to put a step to the current trend for Departmental efficials and United States Attorneys to issue press statements, write magnetine articles and give off-the-record press briefings without first clearing the same with the Attorney General or the Deputy's office. The Attorney General indicated that he would have this stressed at the ferthcoming United States Attorneys' Conference. I teld the Attorney General that the principal effenders were here at the Seat of Government and I mentioned particularly the off-the-record press conference held by Assistant Attorney General Doub; the recent speech made by Assistant Attorney General Ciney in California; and the recent collaboration of Assistant Attorney General Tempkins with Look Magnetine. I pointed out that it wasn't a case of restricting legitimate publicity but that the Begartment should function as a unit and a team and that no one portion of it was separate or distinct from the other. The Attorney General stated he thoroughly agreed and would take steps to tighten this up at once.

I also told the Atterney General that I thought the United States
Atterneys in their fertheeming conference should be thoroughly indestrinated as

Messrs. Tolson, Boardman, Belmost, Rosen, Nichols

October 7, las.

to the handling of civil rights matters and the need for care, patience and objectivity in the approach to all such matters. The Atterney General agrewith me and asked me to propare a memorandum setting forth the Bureau's functions and views in this regard in order that he might have the benefit of the same and suggested that it might also possibly be covered by the represented the Bureau who will address the United States Atterneys.

Very truly yours,

/5/g E H

John Edgar Hoover Director 105-34-237-355 CHANGED TO 63-9441-X

AUG 25 1964.

GIR 15

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

то

: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-344237 sub 33) (105-34237)

DATE: October 18, 1957

FROM

FROM : SAC, NEW ORLEANS (105-587)(105-761)

-1122-1

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES!
RIGHTS MOVEMENTS
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

00: New Orleans

ReBulet to Atlanta, June 5, 1957, and New Orleans letter to the Director dated June 20, 1957.

Captioned case has been carried in a Pending Inactive status by the New Orleans Division and the Bureau advised concerning any important developments regarding Citizens Councils in this area.

New Orleans file 105-761, Bufile 105-34237 sub 33, entitled "Citizens Councils, New Orleans Division, Internal Security - X" reports the pertinent information to the Bureau for Citizens Councils activity for the New Orleans Division, including Louisiana and the State of Mississippi.

In view of the above, the captioned case is being closed in the New Orleans Office UACB and all information in this category will be reported under the case entitled "Citizens Councils, New Orleans Division, Internal Security - X."

2 - Bureau (RM) 2 - New Orleans

RFC:ejf (4)

RECORDED - 39

s CCT 21 1957

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1-11 (Rev. 9-3-57)	
FEDERAL BUREA	U OF INVITIGATION
	. 1957
ГО:	
Director	/Mr. Nease, 5744
Mr. Tolson, 5744	Miss Gandy, 5633
Mr. Boardman, 5736 /	Mr. Holloman, 5633
Mr. Belmont, 1742	
Mr. Mohr, 5517	Records Branch
Mr. Parsons, 7621	Pers. Records, 6631
Mr. Rosen, 5706	Reading Room, 5533
Mr. Tamm, 5256	Courier Service, 1541
Mr. Trotter, 4130 IB	Mail Room, 5531
Mr. Sizoo, 1742	Teletype, 5644
	Code Room, 4642
Mr. Nichols, 5640	Mechanical, B-110
Mr. McGuire, 5642	Supply Room, B-216
Mr. Wick, 5634	Tour Room, 5625
Mr. DeLoach, 5636	Stop Desk, 7712
Mr. Morgan, 5625	
Mr. Jones, 4236 Mr. Leonard, 6222 IB Mr. Waikart, 7204 Mr. Eames, 7206 Mr. Wherry, 5537 See Me For Your Info For appropriate	Note & Return
action	

L. B. Nichols Room 5640, Ext. 691

1014 PLAZA BUILDING

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W. J. SIMMONS, EDITOR

CITIZENS' COUNCILS of AMERICA

STATES' RIGHTS

RACIAL INTEGRITY

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

October 4, 1957

Mr. Louie B. Nichols
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Room 5640
9th Street & Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Nichols:

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed clippings from Sunday's paper of September 29, 1957.

Sincerely,

W.J. Simmons

W.J. W.J. Simmons

Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our Community and in our State of the preservation of our state's Rights.

SAN

Join The Citizens Council

4

That the NAACP, Attorney-General Brownell, the AFL-CIO, the ADA, the Communist party, and other riff-raff and rag-tag of creation, will soon be moving into Mississippi to enforce integration is a foregone conclusion.

There is but one answer. Mississippi is against integration now, tomorrow, the next day, henceforth and hereafter, forever and forever.

In this determination Mississippi must show complete unity and an organized front.

The best way to do that is to join forces with the Citizens Council organization in your community.

Men and women alike should regard it as both a duty and a privilege to become members of the most substantial force we now have to wage a battle against integration.

We believe, and will keep on believing, that the vicious "Black Monday" decision of the United States Supreme Court is a ruthless invasion of our sacred personal rights and an attempt to overthrow a social order that we should maintain against all hazards.

We believe it is the duty of the sovereign states to educate its children without domination or interference by any outside force.

We believe our public schools, as state-supported institutions, should be free from any form of meddling by the Federal government.

For the decision of the Supreme Court the people of Mississippi have no respect whatever and do not intend to obey it if avoidance is possible, no matter what the means may be.

That decision was rendered by men who know nothing whatever about the deeper phases of the race problem.

That decision was politically inspired, plainly an effort of the Republican party to gain control of the Negro vote in large cities where Negroes hold the balance of power.

That decision was rendered by nine men who never saw the inside of a school where white and Negro children were mixed, and whose children and grandchildren today attend private schools rather than risk being placed in integrated public schools.

Even the President of the United States, who prates so loudly—prates in words written for him and recited in parrot-like fashion—does not practice integration. His grandchildren, now dwelling in the White House, are carried each school day in a limousine to an Episcopal private school at Arlington, Va. Several of Washington's public schools are much nearer the White House.

Let this again be said with all possible emphasis:

Mississippi must grid herself for an inevitable battle with the evil forces of integration.

The best forward step to take just now is to become a member of the Citizens Council, an organization composed of thousands of Mississippi's foremost citizens.

Join how. Let the world know where you stand.

105 34237 = 359 ENCLOSURE The Clarion-Ledger Jackson Daily News Jackson, Mississippi September 29, 1957

CITIZENS GOLD CALLS BIG RALLY HERE THURSDAY

The Jackson Citizens' Council will hold a giant rally in the City Auditorium on Thursday night, October 3, at 8 p.m.

Congressman John Bell Williams of Raymond will deliver the keynote address which is expected to deal with the Little Rock integration situation and the presence of federal troops in that city.

W. J. Simmons, secretary of the Jackson unit, said that the general public is invited and urged to attend the rally.

The Clarion-Ledger Jackson Daily News

Jackson, Mississippi September 29, 1957

105 = 34 237 = 357

ENCLOSURE

Efficie Countys Pushing For 10.

Little Rock Crisis Spurs

Prompting the campaign is the only when public officials have coapparent emergency situation in operated.
the South growing out of the occu"Our Citizens Councils have atpation of the Arkansas capital by tacked the NAACP on the local

Federal troops.

William J. Simmons, executive it back," he said. "Few people secretary to the Hinds organizar realize the great job that has been tion, said here Saturday that so accomplished by our groups. far the Citizens Councils in Misters and the councils in Misters and the councils in the council i

groups.

However, he said that the plan attack such as the Citizens Council of attack must be stepped up in the face of current federal encroachments and that the only effective method is to strengthen.

Mr. Simmons said that throughpublic resistance through organ-jude efforts such as effected by the are comprised of people of unim-

2500 MEMBERS

sufficient in the path of retarding sufficient in the path of retarding sufficient by all-out attacks such as seen in Arkansas, actaining sufficient by all-out attacks such as occasion arises tack. We act as occasion arises cording to Mr. Simmons.

advertisements in Sunday's papers 10 defend is to go backward. B and sent with \$5 dues to the local Citing the effectiveness of the haedquarters for membership. work of the Councils, Mr. Simmons has been no integration, but in such de-segregation and Arkansas, where split forces have paved the way locally, this has not been true.

Rock has been brewing for three years because the school officials and the mayor have played into the hands of the NAACP and the federal govenment by trying to comply with the integration edicts of the Supreme Court.

"Only in states where local peo-

me and officials have tried to comply has there been integration," Simmons said. "So long as we keep strong and united in Mississippi, this will not happen."

Simmons said that public opin-ion controls public officials.

integration by actively attacking who take no action until a pressure the NAACP and other pressure groups gets a hold on them," he groups.

peachable character and social, economic and political standing.

At the present time, there are he "When tracked, we make no desome 2,500 members of the Hinds through the some 2,500 members of the Hinds through the said. "We are not passive, and desufficient in the path of federal at pend for our successes in main-The Citizens Council is running and in accord with public needs advertisements in Sunday's papers. To defend is to go backward. De-

Commenting on the integration reminded that in Summerton, S. fight in Arkansas, Mr. Simmons C., one of the first five communisaid that where an active and ties to be ordered integrated, the strong Citizens Council exists there Citizens Councils have fought off NAACP has given up.

In New Orleans, where there are 30,000 Council members, the fed-We said that the fight in Little eral courts in 1956 ordered integra-

tion but it has not come to pass and even in the Catholic parochial schools, the church membership

By CHARLES M. HILLS

But, he said, state laws are no where Councils fight back, no good when we go into federal suits are sited for entry into courts. The hinds County Citizens Countil is launching an all-out member hip drive to secure 10.000 membership lass.

Schools, the church membership lias growing security that are sited for entry into courts. The best way is to attack suits are sited for entry into the NAACP locally and hold it schools," Simmons declared. "That the NAACP locally and hold it is why we urge all Mississipping. sup drive to secure 10,000 members in Jackson and the surrounding area.

Prompting the campaign is the apparent emergency situation in the surrounding area.

That the schools, Simmons declared. That the schools why we urge all Mississippians to join the Citizens Council. We can tegration successes," he said. "In win through public opinion and a tegration has been accomplished united stand."

> The Clarion-Ledger Jackson Daily News Jackson, Mississippi September 29, 1957

100-34237-357 ENCLOSUM



The Clarion-Tedger

FEDERAL BATTLE TROOPS LITTLE ROCK

RIOT-TORN

Ike Declares Action Blocks U.S. 'Anarchy' Speaks Over Networks Alter Sending Troops



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(1) (1)	Governor	١
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1,000 Paratroopers Enter Racial Fight

"THE KE) in the South in the CITIZ

Senator

WON NIOL



CUT OUT	ND MAIL-
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APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP JACKSON CITIZENS COUNCIL

1014 Plaza Bidg.

Jackson, Miss.—Ph. 2-4456

S5.00 Annual Membership Dues Enclosed

Contribution Enclosed

Signed-

101

The Clarion-Ledger Jackson Daily News Jackson, Mississippi September 29, 1957

. 105 = 34237 - 357 . ENCLUDIAL

ITTEROCK...

I LET IT HAPPEN HERE!

Y to resistance

is membership

ENS' COUNCIL"

James O. Eastland

Solid local organization is imperative to maintain segregation by lawful means. Your help is urgently needed.

JACKSON FIZENS' COUNCIL

4 PLAZA BLDG.

TELEPHONE 2-4456

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

105-34237-358

CHANGED TO

105-34237-4-11

NOV 1 3 1957





/15-34237-359 CHANGED TO /15-34237-12-11X

DEC 9 - 1957

Nichols _ Boardman . Belmont __ Mohr

ECORDED CGFY FILED IN 66-62000)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

то :

MR. A. H. BELMON

DATE: October 7, 1957

SUBJECT:

WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS

Development of informants in

develop informants within the Citizens Councils.

During a conference with the Attorney General on the Little Rock integration matter on the afternoon of October 7, 1957, the Attorney General inquired of the Director whether we had informants in the Ku Klux Klan and in the White Citizens Councils. The Director advised that we do have informants in the Klan, where possible, but that we do not have informants in the White Citizens Councils and that this was in accordance with Departmental instructions. The Attorney General advised that such instructions are rescinded and, because of the activities of the Citizens Councils, we should

It is necessary, therefore, to get out instructions to the field that informants should be developed in the White Citizens Councils. We must be very circumspect in doing this. We should not attempt to develop informants in every Citizens Council, but, rather, should concentrate on those where it appears there is going to be integration trouble in the area. Our attempt to develop informants should not become known outside the Bureau. We should not take unnecessary risks and, unless opportunities present themselves to develop informants, we should not barge in and attempt to create informants regardless. We should apply somewhat the same measure of circumspection as we do to our double agent cases; namely, we should be sure of our ground and sure of our control of the individual we are developing.

Appropriate instructions should be drafted for the field and submitted for approval.

AHB:LL
(5)
cc--Mr. Belmont
cccc--Mr. Baumgardner
ccbe Boardman

RECORDED - 83

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1-Boardm Belmont Baumgardner <u>Donohue</u>

SAC, Atlanta

October 9, 1957

Director, FBI (105-34237)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

CITIZENS COUNCE INTERNAL SHOWRITT

Reference is made to Bulet dated December 13, 1956, which instructed that inquiries concerning all citizens ouncils be discontinued immediately; that in order for the Bureau to continue to carry out its responsibilities you should continue your efforts to keep abreast of developments and apprise the Bureau of any situation indicating a potential for violence; and that no informant was to be given any assignment in connection with information regarding the activities of citisens councils without prior Bureau authority.

As you are aware, a very tense situation has arisen in Little Rock, Arkaneas, in connection with the matter of integration of public schools. The Attorney General has stated that in view of the Little Rock situation and the fact that a number of the principal disturbers of the peace there were members of citisens councils he believes the Bureau should take steps to obtain the necessary coverage, including informants, in citizens councils but should exercise such coverage with the utmost discretion.

when the force that the

a significanting citisens cou	ncils and has no interest in the Roll of t
2 Charlotte 2 Dallas 2 Detroit 2 Houston	2 New Orleans 2 New York 2 Norfolk 2 Oklahoma City
2 Kansas City 2 Knoxville 2 Little Rock 2 Louisville	
Tolson Memphis Nichols Boardman Relmont NOTE ON VETTOM: Ori	ginal on Plastiplate.
Parsons	memo Belmont to Boardman, MIO/9/57, Same
JHK: CFW: gft Nedse JHK: CFW: gft Nedse (53) Hollomo 60C MAR 100957	SENT DIRECTOR FOR APPROVAL 10-9-57

SAC, Atlanta Re: Citizens Councils 105-34237

the Eureau is the gathering of intelligence in advance of possible violence or interference with Federal court orders or injunctions and the gathering of information which will permit the development of witnesses in the event such violence or interference takes place.

In view of the Attorney General's desires you are instructed to institute immediately a program for the development of coverage, which will accomplish the above aims, in citizens councils in those areas where trouble might arise due to integration problems.

It is desired that you examine the coverage you had previously when discreet inquiries were being conducted concerning citizens councils for the purpose of reinstituting coverage along the same lines. You should bear in mind the recruitment of proven informants in both the security and criminal fields who could become members of these organizations. Panel sources should be considered to see if they are of the caliber and reliability to be used in this regard. Consider also members of minority groups or persons who have openly expressed opposition toward the use of violence in any form. It is noted that some of the leaders and members of citizens councils have voluntarily contacted your offices expressing antipathy to violence. Sources should be re-established who can obtain literature published or circulated by citisens councils which will keep your offices informed of possible trends toward violence. Newspapers and other publications should be closely scrutinized for the same purpose.

It is not desired that informants be developed in each and every citisens council within the territory covered by your office but it is imperative that efforts be made to develop informants in citisens councils in areas where there might be integration trouble. Your efforts in this regard are to be most circumspect. No unnecessary risks should be taken in this matter which might have any adverse effect upon the Bureau or which might cause the Bureau any embarrassment. No attempts should be made to develop informants on a wholesale basis. No person should be considered in connection with this matter unless the individual is completely trustworthy. No individual should be contacted until Bureau authority is obtained. All individuals contacted under this program should be advised and must understand that the Bureau is not interested in the activities of citizens councils as such but is interested in only such information

SAC, Atlanta Re: Citizens Councils 105-34237 indicating violence on the part of such councils or their members and in such information that is or at some future date might be in violation of matters over which this Bureau has jurisdiction. It is realised that the development of informants in this regard is a delicate situation and I want to be certain that anyone used as an informant is trustworthy and will not get the erroneous impression and think that the Bureau is interested in citizens councils other than from their potential for violence. Each office receiving instant communication should institute immediately a definite program in this regard. The Bureau is to be formulated with a letter setting forth the program instituted, which letter is to reach the Bureau by October 25. 1957, without fail. Thereafter each office should submit a letter every 30 days setting forth the steps taken to insure the success of the program; the steps taken to implement and expand upon the program; results achieved under the program, setting forth the names of the individuals and sources developed and any informant symbol numbers, if assigned, during the preceding 30-day period; and summarise accomplishments achieved under the program since its inception. After the second 30-day letter is submitted you should list only in the letters submitted in June and December of each year the names and symbol numbers of all the individuals developed since the inception of the program. Requests for Bureau authority to contact individuals under this program should be submitted under individual council captions and should include the following information: (1) Full name of individual (2) Residence address (3) Ossupation and business address (4) A statement whether individual is an officer and/or member of the council. If not an officer or member a statement as to the individual's being in a position to furnish information (5) A statement as to individual's trustworthiness. including a statement if individual has furnished

SAC, Atlanta Re: Citizens Councils 105-34237 information to your office in the past, if such information was determined to be accurate, and a brief resume of matters concerning which he has furnished information any information in the files of your office which might make a contact inadvisable Your recommendation A separate letter should be submitted on each individual request. It is your responsibility to give this matter preferred and expeditious attention to insure the suegess of this program. It is also your personal responsibility to insure that all information concerning the activities of citisens councils which might result in violence in connection with the integration matter or which might develop into another Little Rock situation is furnished the Bureau promptly. In this regard you should secure the desired information through close scrutiny of the public press, through information which may be volunteered, and through the informants which are developed in connection with the afore-mentioned program. The above instructions in me way rescind the instructions set forth in reBulet concerning active inquiries of citizens councils. No active inquiries should be conducted concerning such councils.

DATE: October 9,

ffice Memorandum . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. L. V. Boardman

FROM:

Mr. A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT:

ITIZENS COUNCILS - G-en INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Holloman _ Reference is made to the memorandum from Mr. Belmont to dated 10/7/57 advising that at a conference with the Attorney General on the Little Rock, Arkansas, integration matter on the afternoon of 10/7/57 the Attorney General instructed the Director that due to the activities of citizens councils the Bureau should develop informants within such councils. Referenced memorandum noted that instructions should be drafted for the field in this matter and submitted for approval.

There is attached a letter addressed to the SAC, Atlanta, with copies for all other offices which have conducted inquiries regarding citizens councils in the past setting forth the necessity for the develop ment of informants in those citizens councils where it appears there might be integration trouble in the area and instructing that all attempts to develop informants should be most circumspect; that no unnecessary risks should be taken in this matter; that we should not engage in a wholesale attempt to develop informants in this matter but confine efforts to those opportunities which present themselves; that Bureau authority should be obtained before any individual is contacted for development under this program; and that it is the personal responsibility of the SA to insure success in this matter.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached yellow file copy of the letter to Atlanta, copies to other pertinent offices, the original of which is on Plastiplate, be approved.

Enclosure

105-34237

1 - Mr. Boardman

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Baumgardner

- Mr. Donohue

FOR APPROVAL

10-9-57

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

то : Mr. Tolson	DATE: 10/18/57
FROM: L. B. Nichols	Tolson Nichols Bourdman Belmont
SUBJECT:	Parsons Posen Tamm Totter
Bill Stimmons, the Administrator of of Mississippi, called to see me on the morning of	10/17/57. Among Room
other things, Simmons commented that he thought handled itself very well in the Arkansas situation a	
the folks would be talking for public consumption,	
counted appreciated our position. He stated he wa	s very glad that we had
handled ourselves as we had.	NA MA
Simmons further stated that the following	ks in the South are very
much upset and concerned over the so-called Com	(X) F J + X - C
and they feel that the wrong type of people will be	
the leaders in the South who are seeking to preser	
a rather bad time. They are presently, on a very to promote a series of television programs which	
to how the Negro is treated in the South and counte	1 1 7
propaganda.	, b2
Simmons stated he was in Chicago a	b7D
five civic groups; that he has been amazed to learn	
conspiracy among the northern press to play down	racial incidents in northern
cities. He then inquired whether the Commission	on Civil Rights would have
access to FBI files. I told him they would not have although we may have to furnish them information.	e access to FBI files
that somewhere in our files there would be one inc	
bad unless explained.	The state of the s
Simmons pointed out that 4 or 5 yea	ing age he was associated
	n a nartnership venture
involving the export business. They represented I	Maine potato growers of Space of potatoes for pork with developed the information
and were working on a deal of bartering Maine see	ed potatoes for pork with
Argentina. In the course their transactions that the Russians were also anxious to get pork and	developed the information
that the Russians were also anxious to get bork and	
LBN:hpf COPIES DESTROYED	105-34237-363
(4) 479 MAY 10 1972 RECORDED-92	and the second s
cc - Mr. Boardman INDEXED-92	B NOV 6 1957
cc - Mr. Belmont	MEG.
1 the state of the	/BV /

76 NOV 15 1957

Memo to Mr. Tolson Russian manganese so asked Simmons to go to the Russian Embassy and contact the Commercial Attache to see if a deal could be worked out on a barter basis for pork in return for manganese. Simmons at once protested the futility of this; however, told him that he should try it out. Simmons agreed on the condition that would write a letter to the Department of Justice asking if there were any objections in getting themselves on record. He stated that apparently this was done. He accordingly went to the Russian Embassy and conferred with the Commercial Attache for approximately an hour. As a sequel, the Department of Justice got in touch with He was not clear on whether it was the Department or the FBI. At any rate, the suggestion was made to that he try to get close to the Russians and then had several contacts with Amtorg subsequently became rather friendly at the request of the Department. with them and some other communists and attended several meetings. The fact that he went to the Russian Embassy without the explanation could look bad for him since the pro-integration groups had tried to prove him to be an agitator but failed. I told him I would be glad to make a note in our files on what he had to say. I also introduced him to Messrs. DeLoach and Nease and told him that if at any time in the future something came up he should contact either DeLoach or Nease and if anything came up in the future where he could be of assistance he should pitch in and help if either DeLoach or Nease asked him. He stated that he would be glad to do this. 4AC

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STARS GOVERNMENT

	то	:	DIRECTOR, FBI			D	ATE: 10/30/5	7	
	FREM) : &	SAC, CHARLOTTI	E (105 – 331)					
	SUBJEC	r: 6	ASSOCIATION OF GREENWOOD, MIS		COUNCILS.				
	Approof object means that scene ments "mave an 8 to the community public in the community of the community o	his of page manit.	On 9/18/57, xhibited to SA Marshal, Camp 1	Lejeune, N. C., ag the formation cloth locate a recommendate a recommendate to the locate, good state and the lation of Ci	C. This memor reported to he tion of a local tenance of seging, claimed to ord verifying the second tenance of Subject second tenance of JOHN KASPER Citizens' Counet on "The Citorder and dome of the preservantizens' Council	um by Col. and um stat im that su l chapter regation by o be a mar this claim claimed to Tenn., when, whom sub cil. Subjecters' Coustic tranqtion of ou	wILLIAM CAP ed that bject of Citizens' y constituti ine, althoug , and subjec have visite re he was in ject claims ect left wit ncil", "Dedi uility in ou r State's Ri	Council, onal t said d the stru- is a h cated r ghts",	
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SAC, Charlotte (105-331)

November 7, 1957

Director, FBI (105-34237) - - 1

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Reurlet dated October 30, 1957, captioned "Association of Citizens' Councils, Greenwood, Mississippi; IS-X."

As you were instructed in Bulet to Atlanta dated October 9, 1957, sopies to your office, captioned "Citizens Councils, Internal Security - X." the Bureau desires to obtain material being distributed by citizens councils. Therefore, attempts should be made to obtain Photostats of the pamphlet published by the captioned organization which is in possession of the Office of Maval Intelligence, Camp Ledeune, North Carelina. Two Photostats of this pamphlet should be furnished the Bureau and one Photostat to Memphis.

1 - Nemphis (Infermation)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

The pamphlet mentioned above includes a statement "We will not be integrated, suddenly or gradually" and "We must organize every town and county in our state and then every state in the South." A Photostat will be furnished the Department upon receipt.

COMM - FBI NOV 7 1957 MAILED 20 7 13/1C

105-34237-365 CHANGED TO 105-34237-33-23

DEC 2 1957

Office Membrandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : L. V. Boardman Horas?

DATE: December 5, 1957

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS - GO IN

INFORMANT PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Tolson
Nichel
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BACKGROUND

During a conference on 10/7/57, then Attorney General Brownell inquired of the Director whether we had informants in citizens councils. He was advised by the Director that we did not and that this was in accordance with Departmental instructions. The Attorney General stated that in view of the Little Rock situation and the fact that a number of the principal disturbers of the peace there were members of citizens councils, he believed the Bureau should take steps to attain necessary coverage including informants in citizens councils but should exercise such coverage with utmost discretion.

Appropriate instructions were sent field offices in which councils are located by letter 10/9/57. It was stressed that the Bureau is not interested in legitimate activities of these groups but is interested solely in gathering intelligence in advance of possible violence or interference with Federal court orders or injunctions.

RESULTS OF PROGRAM

Each office has conducted or is in process of conducting a survey of the citizens council situation to determine what coverage is necessary. Some states such as Mississippi have numerous councils while others such as Georgia have only one or two. Some offices have advised racial difficulties are anticipated in event of integration while others have advised little if any racial trouble is expected. For these reasons flexible instructions were issued whereby each SAC must evaluate what coverage is necessary to fulfill the Bureau's obligations and responsibilities.

Obtaining sources in these groups is an extremely delicate undertaking and in order to preclude possible embarrassment to the Bureau quality in informants rather than quantity has been stressed. Offices were instructed informants should not be developed in every council but only in those in areas where there might be trouble; that efforts should be most circumspect and no unnecessary risks taken; that only completely trustworthy individuals should be contacted; and that no contacts be made until Bureau authority is obtained.

- Mr. Boardman

- Mr. Belmont

- Mr. Rosen

CFW:dlhall(6)

Mr. Baumgardner

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Memorandum for Mr. Boardman Re: Citizens Councils 105-34237

To date there are fifteen informants and sources who are members of citizens councils. In addition, seven established Klan informants are attempting to affiliate or reaffiliate with councils. Requests have been received at the Bureau for authority to contact an additional individuals for the purpose of having them report information desired by the Bureau concerning citizens councils. of these requests have been or are being approved and have been denied. These requests are being handled at the Bureau on a selective basis.

b7D

ACTION:

The above is submitted to acquaint you with the results of this program to date. The field will be followed closely to insure that we obtain sufficient coverage in citizens councils to fulfill the Bureau's responsibilities.

SHK IN Som sto

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-37158)

12/19/57

SAC, ATLANTA (105-309)

STATES RIGHTS COUNCIL OF GEORGIA, INC. IS - X

Re Bureau letter, 10/9/57 and mylets 10/24/57 and 11/22/57 eastioned "CITIZENS COUNCILS; IS - X", Bufile 105-34237.

has agreed to

shortly after 1/1/53.

It is believed that through this informant and by fellowing this group through the newspapers and other public sources, the information desired by the Bureau can be obtained.

3 Bureau (30) (1 - 105-34237) 2 - Atlanta (1 -

HEK/mjm

68 JAN 2 1958

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Office Memorandum • United States Government

	JJ		
	m K	Director, FBI (105-34237) DATE: 12-21-57	
2	FROM:	SAC, Birmingham (105-241)	
	0	$\gamma \gamma$	
	SUBJECT:	CITIZENS COUNCILS INTERNAL SECURITY - X	
		Rebulet to Atlanta, October 9, 1957, and Birmingham letters to Bureau dated October 22 and November 23, 1957.	
		The progress to date for the development of	
		coverage in Citizens Councils in those areas where trouble might arise due to integration problems is as follows:	
		The Bureau has approved the use of who	2 7 D
		is	
			6
		Creations Conficate successioning analysis and accurate	7C 7D
		has been	
		under consideration for use in connection with Citizens Council activity at however, he has recently ad-	6 7C 7D
		vised SA of the Birmingham Office that he	
	•	has stated that Actually, the Citizens	Ä
		Council in is not functioning at the present time.	
	•		
		men reen compared on <u>an commentation</u>	b6 b70
		has handled in the past in the security field has	b71
	,	decided that will not be satisfactory in this connection. Another individual will be selected for the	
		area.	
		2 - Bureau (RM) 1 - Birmingham (105-241)	
		CBS:MFL CDS DEC 28 TOPM	
		$(3) \qquad \qquad (3)$	

67 DEC30 1957/378

BH 105-241

communication.

b6 b7C Citizens Council, has furnished b7D information to this office concerning that council. Bureau will be requested in the very near future to approve as either a PSI in this matter or as a It is believed that in some instances confidential source. in connection with this program that inasmuch as these individuals will not be contacted as much as a regular security informant, it may be desirable to make them a confidential source rather than a PSI. b2 Bureau authority has been requested to approve b7D in this connection. The Birmingham area appears to be a likely spot for integration trouble at this time due to the fact that b6 b7C an integration leader, has Tiled suit in Federal Court, Birmingham, to secure admittance of his daughter and other Negro children in the Birmingnam schools, as the Bureau has been advised by separate

This matter will continue to be followed and the Bureau kept advised.

Office Memorandum . United states government

то : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 12/19/57

M FROM

SAC, ATLANTA (105-321)

SUBJECT:

CITIZENS COUNCILS IS - X

Re Bureau letter 10/9/57 and mylets 10/24/57 and 11/22/57.

As the Bureau has previously been advised, the only citizens councils-type of organization now active in the Atlanta Division is the "States Rights Council of Georgia, Inc., Aka.; IS-X", Bufile 105-37158, Atlanta file 105-309. Therefore information in the future will be reported to the Bureau under this heading.

3 - Bureau (1 - 105-37158) 2 - Atlanta (1 - 105-309)

HEK/mjm (5)

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105-34237-371

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105-34237-24- /2

JAN 9 1958

m. G.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

o : Direc	tor, FBL		DATE: Dec	ember 26, 1	1957
ROM : SAC,	/ Memphis (105-2 ¹	1 2)			
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Councils; I		cober 9, 1957, d	captioned "Ci	tizens	
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will be not	h would make a ed in this conr the Citi	no information contact with nection that Leens Council in	in the files inadvis	and also th	ne
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2- Bureau 1- Memphis(1- Memphis) JHK:FJ	RM 105-121-Sub-E) (105-242)	RECORDED - 20	05-27	1-37	7.7
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	SAC, Memphis	(105-242)	January	10, 1958
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	Director, FBI	(105-34237)		
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		les contain no pert		
	concerning	not already know	wn to vour office.	
	Bureau author:	ity is granted to con	ntact As	
	you are aware		and, therefore,	
		ired that efforts be		
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	he should be	considered a source (of information	
	and no attempt	t should be made to	give him assignments	
	or in any way	guide his activities	S .	
	•	<i>,</i>		
	At 1	the outset of your co	ontact should	
	he informed th	at the Bureau has n	o interest in the	
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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO

Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: 1-10-58

FROM

Mr. A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT:

CITIZENS COUNCILS INTERNAL SECURITY - X

By letter 10-9-57 offices handling citizens councils were instructed to institute program for development of coverage in those organizations in order that the Bureau could be advised concerning violations of laws within our jurisdiction or acts of violence which might result from future integration attempts. These instructions were issued as result of request made by Attorney General 10-7-57.

Many requests have been received from the field to have authority to interview police officers who are not members of these organizations. Other requests for authority to interview individuals indicate the field may not fully understand the Bureau's desires in connection with this informant development program.

RECOMMENDATION:

There is attached for your approval the yellow of a letter to Atlanta and copies to other offices, the original of which is on plastiplate, setting forth the problem confronting the Bureau with regard to possible future action by citizens councils and stating the Bureau's desires with regard to the development of coverage.

Enclosure 105-34237

1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 -

CFW:fkp

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RECORDED - 63

JAN 21 1958

EX-135

1 - Mr Boardman 1 - Mr Belmont 1 - Mr Baumgardner

SAC, Atlanta RECORDED - 63 Director, FBI (105-34237)- 3/ M

January 13, 1958

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CITIZENS COUNCILS INTERNAL SECURITY - X

EX-135

ReBulet 10-9-57 captioned as above instituting a program for the development of coverage in citizens councils.

Until such time as a community is actually faced with immediate integration, it cannot be determined with any degree of certainty exactly what action citizens councils in that area will take.

When desegregation attempts become a reality in a community each council in that area must decide whether or not to comply with existing court orders. If the decision is to resist, the Bureau must be in a position to know if acts of violence are contemplated or if plans are being made for action violative of laws within the Bureau's jurisdiction, particularly relating to civil rights. Identities of individuals responsible for such action must also be known.

The pregram for development of coverage in citizens councils was instituted for the above-stated reasons only. The Bureau is not interested in legitimate activities of any of these groups. This fact should be impressed upon those individuals contacted and should be kept in mind by personnel of your office who are involved.

Efforts to obtain coverage in councils should be continued until such time as you can assure the Bureau that you have sources in a position to supply, when it becomes necessary to do so, information the Bureau must have.

COSM - FBI

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2 - Baltimore 2 - Birmingham 2 - Charlette

2 - Dallas 2 - Detroit 2 - Houston

2 - Kansas City 2 - Knoxville 2 - Little Rock

2 - Louisville 2 - Memphis

2 - Miami 2 - Mobile

2 - Newark 2 - New Haven 2 - New Orleans 2 - New York

2 - Norfolk 2 - Oklahoma City

2 - Richmond 2 - St. Louis

2 - San Antonio

? - Savannah ? - Washington Field

CFW:fkp/ (55)

NOTE: See memo Belmont to Boardman, 1-10-58, captioned Citizens Councils, Internal Security - X, CFW:fk.

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folloman ______ MAIL ROSS

Letter to Atlanta Re: Citizens Councils 105-34237

In this regard numerous requests are being received for authority to contact police officers. Unless these officers are actually council members who will be aware of decisions made and action contemplated after councils have decided to resist compliance with court orders relating to integration, they will not be in a position to furnish needed data. Therefore, they should not be considered as part of your coverage. This should not be considered as denial of authority to contact law enforcement officers concerning councils. As in the past where it is believed necessary to contact police officers Bureau authority should be requested.

Office Memorandum · United States Government

33			• • •		
то : І	Director, FBI (105-34237)		DATE: January	24, 1958
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FROM :	SAC, Memphis (1	05-242)			
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Office Memorandum . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

то : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237-33)

DATE: January 30, 1958

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FROM : SAC, NEW ORLEANS (105-492)

SUBJECT: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS

•F MISSISSIPPI

INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Reurlet dated 12/17/57 in the above-captioned case authorizing that MARION F. SIMPSON, Sheriff, Madison County, Mississippi, be contacted in connection with captioned organization.

On January 27, 1958, Sheriff SIMPSON was contacted by SA LAURENCE J. FRANK, JR., at Canton, Mississippi.

Sheriff SIMPSON was informed that the Bureau had no interest in the legitimate activities of the Citizens Council, but is interested in violations of laws over which the Bureau has jurisdiction, particularly Civil Rights violations and in possible violence. Sheriff SIMPSON advised that the Citizens Council is a cross section of responsible citizens in all walks of life in the State of Mississippi and is aimed at preserving segregation by all legal means available. He said that the Citizens Council would not and could not condone or advocate violence in any form whatsoever. Sheriff SIMPSON stated that since

he thought that he would know of any deviation from the principles for which the Council stands and he would not hesitate to report any indication that there would be violence in connection with the segregation issue and he felt that it would be an individual action and certainly not the results of any council activity.

Sheriff SIMPSON appeared very sincere in his desire to cooperate.

Sheriff SIMPSON also advised that he is

which

is an organization composed of the members of the

2 - Bureau (RM) 3 - New Orleans

(1-105-895)

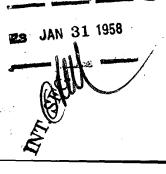
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EX-135



NO 105-492

He stated that the sole purpose of the Educational Fund of the Citizens Councils, Inc., is to distribute literature, news articles and other informative items concerning the South's stand on segregation and he claimed that this literature has been sent to every state in the union and to seven foreign countries. SIMPSON claimed that this organization's funds were received in the form of contributions from every state in the union.

Further reference is made to the Bureau's letter dated January 13, 1958, entitled "Citizens Councils, IS-X," wherein the Bureau advised that police officers who were not members of Citizens Councils would not be in a position to furnish needed data and, therefore, should not be considered as part of the coverage.

Thasmuch as Shellii Simpson	
the Bureau is requested to permit the New Orl	
Office to include Sheriff SIMPSON in its coverage of Citizens	
Councils.	

105-34231-380 CHANGED TO 105-32909-46

MAR 7-1958

PJS

SAC, Richmond

Petruary 17, 1958

Director, FBI (105-34237)

CITIZENS COUNCILS INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Reference Richmond letter February 7, 1958, and Norfelk letter February 6, 1958, both captioned "Racial Situation, State of Virginia."

Richmond in its referenced letter summarized racial situations in the Arlington County, Charlottesville, Norfolk, Newport News and Prince Edward County, Virginia, areas. Norfolk in its referenced letter summarized racial situations in the Norfolk and Newport News areas.

A review of referenced letters indicates there is a definite possibility that some individuals in the areas mentioned above may when faced with integration resort to vielence or engage in activities which might be a violation of laws over which the Bureau has jurisdiction such as contempt of court.

Richmond to date has submitted 11 requests to contact individuals under the citizens council coverage pregram. Three of these requests were denied inasmuch as the individuals were not citizens council members, therefore, were not in a position to furnish information the Bureau desires and five were law enforcement efficers who are in no better position to obtain information concerning citizens councils than are Bureau Agents. Authority was denied to develop these eight individuals as sources. Of the remaining three, two are not members of citizens councils but may be in a position to furnish information concerning those organizations. The results are Richmond has developed one source; namely, who

Kichmond utilizes

who is

Neither

of these sources are active in any of the areas mentioned above.

2 - Worfolk

REC- 93

1 - Bufile 62-101087-49 (Racial Situation Letate of Virginia) See note on yellow page 2.

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SAC, Richmond Re: Citizens Councils 105-34237

Norfolk has submitted requests to contact two individuals under the citizens council coverage program. Both requests were denied inasmuch as one was not a citizens council member and the other, a former source, was indiscreet and allegations of homosexuality have been made against him. Actually Norfolk has no coverage of citizens councils in its areas.

To sum up the situation only one source has been developed by both offices in the State of Virginia during the past four months although it should be apparent to both offices that racial difficulties can be expected in the future. As pointed out in Bulet to Atlanta dated January 13, 1958, captioned as above, copies of which were furnished Richmond and Norfolk, there can be no certainty as to what action a citizens council will take in any given area until faced with integration and, therefore, coverage should be obtained in areas where the possibility exists such trouble might arise. Obviously individuals who are members of citizens councils are in the best position to furnish information the Bureau desires while individuals who are not members can furnish little help if any.

It is expected that both offices will take affirmative steps immediately to secure coverage in citizens councils in the areas where racial difficulties can be expected to be encountered. This matter will be followed closely by the Bureau.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

In the areas mentioned above there have been court orders directing schools be desegregated. The possibility exists such desegregation will take place September, 1958.

Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing a piece of trash I happened to receive through the mail.

I feel that an investigation ought to be made for the purpose of ascertations who is behind this outfit of from what kind of insanity they are

J. 1.7.

16 FEB 26 1958

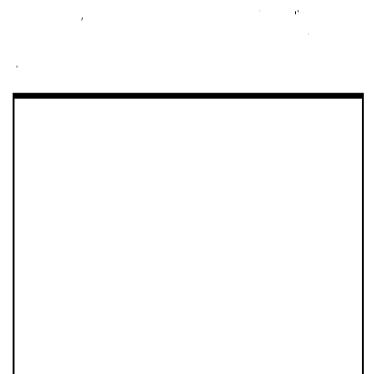
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Special BULLETIN

AGAINST CHRIST

Sierra Madre, California, is a suburban community near Pasadena and Iosangeles. The school district of this community has been in the throes of a terrific battle in defense of Christs name. Under Jewish pressure and under the leadership of a Jewish member of the school board, the board of Education prohibited a Christmas play containing the nativity scene. This aroused the community, including the clergymen. It awakened the sleepy, and the conflict also got into the Parent-Teacher Association.

The Sierra Madre incident is merely a sample of what the enemies of Christ are promoting all over the United States. If the time has come when we cannot sing Christmas carols at Christmas time on our school programs, and if the time has come when the little children cannot portray the nativty scene, God pity America.

BIG FIGHT IN MINNEAPOLIS

A bitter public fight between Jewish and Christian groups is raging in the City of Minneapolis. The Minnesota city is planning its one hundredth anniversary. The Centennial committee arranged to display a mammoth Cross as a symbol for the celebration. The Jews have been carrying on a vigorous high-pressure campaign to remove the Cross. At the same time a battle has been raging in Minneapolis between Jews and Christians over the right of the school children to sing Christmas carols and present Christmas programs in the school buildings. The Jews Objected violently to the singing of the great cantata "The Seven Last Words of Christ" in the high schools.

The week before this was written the Jewish Rabbis of Minneapolis called a meeting and voted to fight more vigorously than ever to keep the name of Christ out of the schools and to take the Cross out of the Centennial symbol.

The Jew leading the fight against the Christians is Samuel L. Scheiner. The official Catholic weekly "The Wanderer", in reference to the battle which the Jews are leading, issued the following statement: "The Cross is their target. It is the hated symbol of the Jews."

The issue has become so open and so dynamic that the newspapers are takeing polls of public opinion, only to discover that nearly two-thirds of the public are determined that the name of Christ shall not be dishonered and that the Cross shall remain in the anniversary symbol. If by some unreasonable pressure the Jews succeed in removing the Cross from the tradition of Minneapolis and its one hundred years of dynamic progress, it will perhaps be the most expensive victory the Jews have ever won in that city. Determined citizens, however, are confident that the Jews will not win.

CITIZENS COUNCIL of the MIDWEST P.O. Box-1957 MERAMEC STA. ST. LOUIS 18,MO.

The Citizens' Council

12 Copies-\$1.00
ORDER 12 COPIES
and
Give To Friends

105-34237-382

Something very sensational has happened in Los. Angeles, California. There is a large Negro newspaper there called the Herald-Dispatch, which caters only to Negro subscribers. It has recently adopted an editorial policy highly critical of political Jew. Zionism, and it so being branded by the Jews as an anti-Semitic periodical. The dispatch says that it respects the White Citizens Councils when compared to the operation of the Jews. It says that the White Citizens Councils fight above board and "we know where we stand," but it sugests that they never know where the Jews stand, nor what they are going to do, nor what pressures they are going to use to have their own way. It goes on to show how the Jews will indulge in boycott and undercover manipulation in order to work reprisal and enforce their will.

Quite a sensational cercumstance, for a large Negro newspaper to awaken editorially to the manipulating enfluences of the very outfit which is causing Negroes more trouble than any other enfluence in the world. Most of the agitators behind the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people have been Jews and most of the big money given to promote their agitation has been given by Jews. The first big money was given by the Rosenwalds of Chicago, and the current president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is a Jew by the name of Spingarn. Very singular indeed that the president of a Negro organization would not be a Negro.

* communism is treason!

Common Sense

fight it with common sense!

WHO CONTROLS THE POLICY OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE?



Channing-Tobias
Asst. Treasurer of NAACF, at least 50 Communist-front listings



Sen. Herbert Lehman
Marxist Jew, a director in
NAACP.
10 Commis-front citations



Arthur Spingarn
Zionist Jew and President of
NAACP. Close Contact with a
number of Communist-fronts.



Felix Frankfurter (Jew)
Packed New Deal with Reds.
A director in NAACP.



W. E. B. DuBois
Founder of NAACP, has 72
Communist-front citations



Executive Secretary NAACP 9 Communist-front citations



Thurgood Marshall
Special Council NAACP, has
5 Communist-front citations



Cong. Adam C. Powell, Jr. 73 Communist-front citations

These are the men who have been planning and working for years, causing hatred in our Country today among all races and people, through the Federation of Churches, Christians and Jews. The Jews have and give the money to the Churches, but they expect the Churches to preach the way they want them to -MIX THE RACES.

Think, My American Friend, before it is to late. We need millions of true blood Americans who will fight. This is your fight, we must have DONATIONS to pay for printing and mailing, SO DO YOUR SHARE, IT'S UP TO YOU. Suggestions and Criticism Welcome.

SEND DONATION TO
PAY FOR PRINTING AND MAILING

of the MIDWEST
P.O. Box - 1957
MERAMEC STA.
ST. LOUIS 18, MO.

Nichols

Mohr .

Parsons Rosen. Tamm

Trotter . Nease

Boardman Belmont.

REC- 93 115- 3/2-38 CPEDruary 25, 1958

Potter to the

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Dear

Your letter postmarked February 15, 1958, with its enclosure, has been received, and I appreciate the motive which prompted your communication.

In the event you secure additional data which you believe to be of interest to this Bureau, you may desire to communicate directly with the Special Agent in Charge of our Springfield Office located at 421 South Sixth Street, Herndon Building, Springfield, Illinois.

Sincerely yours.

John Edgar Hoover Director

1 - Springfield (enclosure) 1 - St. Louis (enclosure)

SACS SPRINGFIELD AND ST. LOUIS

Enclosed for your information is a Photostat of the "Special Bulletin" published by the Citizens Council of the Midwest, Post Office Box 1957, Meramec Station, St. Louis 18, Missouri. This "Special Bulletin" was submitted to the Bureau by the correspondent with a note that he was enclosing a piece of trash he received through the mail. He advised he felt an investigation should be made to determine who is behind this organization.

NOTE TO SPRINGFIELD AND ST. LOUIS CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW ON PAGE TWO $g_{q_{\mathcal{F}_{\mathcal{I}_{lk}}}}$ $RDS:pw_{in}(5)$

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NOTE TO SACS SPRINGFIELD AND ST. LOUIS. CONTINUED

Bufiles contain no identifiable data concerning correspondent and no record of the organization under the name printed on the enclosed Bulletin.

The St. Louis Office should check its files and furnish the Bureau with any data contained therein concerning the above organization.

NOTE_ON YELLOW:

The above Bulletin is anti-Jewish and anti-Negro in nature. It relates to incidents in Sierra Madre, California, and Minneapolisa Minnesota, which it alleges are samples of the fights between Jewish and Christian groups. It also attacks the NAACP and contains pictures of seven officials of the NAACP and Congressman Adam Clayton Powell identifying them as Jews and/or having connections with communist front organizations.

105-34237-383

CHANGED TO
105_34237_24-17

MAR 25 1958

An Address by

WILLIAM J #SIMMONS Administrator Citizens' Councils of Mississippi

Before the

Farmers-Merchants Annual Banquet

Oakland, Iowa

February 3, 1958

EC- 33

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MAR 3 1958

FARMERS-MERCHANTS ANNUAL BANQUET

OAKLAND, IOWA

February 3, 1958

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it is a high honor to have been invited to appear before you on the occasion of your annual Farmers-Merchants Banquet. You are most generous to ask a visitor from the Deep South to meet with you, and it is a tribute to your intellectual curiosity to entertain a brief discussion of a subject and an organization which have been the objects of some controversy in the national press. I am here not as an apologist for my section or as a critic of yours. I shall simply try to present to you as objectively as I can certain facts as we see them. Our viewpoints may differ, but I respect your right to your opinion, and I assume you will grant me the same consideration.

The ties between our sections and our states are many. Perhaps the strongest, and certainly the most personal tie, is the splendid Iowans and other Middle-Westerners who have found their way south to become valued residents of Mississippi. One of our most respected and popular citizens in Jackson is from right here in Oakland.

There are many other ties which bind us together in a community of interest more enduring than is generally thought. Despite the industrial growth in the South in recent years, we are primarily an agricultural region, as are you. It may interest you to know that meetings of this nature, where farmers and merchants renew and strengthen the bonds of personal acquaintance, are an important part of our social and economic relationships, as they are of yours.

Our two regions are essentially conservative in their politics and in their general social orientation. In fact, the largest difference seems to be in party labels. You are largely Republican, we are mostly Democrats. But our basic political philosophies are almost indistinguishable, Modern Republicans and Americans for Democratic Action to the contrary notwithstanding. I have known many rock ribbed Northern Republicans and many rock ribbed Scuthern Democrats, and my observation is that these rocks and ribs become interchangeable with facility when the owner moves from one section to another.

Our two regions are both dynamic strongholds of States' Rights and of responsible local self-government. One of the most stirring states' rights speeches I have been privileged to hear was delivered by a distinguished mid-western senator to a cheering audience in Jackson, Mississippi two years ago.

method could be devised whereby our two regions would align themselves politically on the national level, the mis-named "liberal" elements in both parties would lose the inordinate influence they have exercised in the selection of candidates for President at the national conventions. Domination of the Executive Department of our government of course follows this selection and convention control. A detailed analysis of the 435 congressional districts in the United States will reveal that slightly in excess of 100 or one-fourth, are "liberal." The remaining three-fourths are conservative.

I use the word "liberal" in the current corrupted sense, of course, not in its correct historical sense. The word "liberal" is an

honorable term that has been kidnapped by those who are about as liberal as a steel trap.

It is interesting to note that the bases of "liberal" power are mainly dense metropolitan areas, whereas the conservative representation in congress comes predominantly from the rural states. Yet under our existing political arrangement, all you and we have seen this numerical preponderance produce in the way of results is the coalition of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats that has functioned effectively at times on the defensive in stopping legislation designed to increase further centralization of power in the federal bureaucracy. I am not familiar, however, with a single instance where this coalition has been able to operate with anything approaching the efficiency of the Modern Republicans and Americans for Democratic Action in holding to an aggressive course of action aimed at positive long-range victory for their views.

There are a number of reasons for this situation. But in my humble opinion the largest contributing factor is the present electoral college device whereby the entire electoral votes of a state are awarded to the presidential candidate whose party polls a majority of the popular vote in that state. In the large states of New York, Illinois, Michigan, California, Ohio and Pennsylvania, having a total of 181 electoral votes, where Republican and Democratic strength is rather closely divided, the metropolitan left-wing bloc vote is controlling. Consequently, those blocs exercise a political leverage in convention, and in the respective national parties, that is decisive. The proposed Mundt-Coudert constitutional amendment to change the method of allocating electoral votes

would break this stranglehold. Then certainly the national policies of our government would begin to reflect the views of the Mid-West and the South as well as those of Harlem and Southside Chicago.

Your region is perhaps inclined to be more isolationist than ours. This is undoubtedly due to your position in the midst of America's great heartland, whereas we have historical trade and cultural ties with Europe and Latin America.

We have considered briefly some of our similarities. Now, let us look at the towering fact that makes our social system different from yours. According to the 1950 census Iowa had a total population of 2,621,073, of which 19,692 are Negro. This is 75/100 of one percent. Mississippi has, according to the 1950 census, a population of 2,178,914 of which 986,494 are Negro. This is 45.28 percent. In other words, of every 100 persons in Iowa, 99 1/4 are white and 3/4 of one person are Negro. In Mississippi, 45 1/4 of every 100 persons are Negroes. There are only nine states having a smaller percentage of Negro population than Iowa. Mississippi has the highest ratio of Negro to Caucasian in the nation. In some Mississippi counties the ratio runs as high as 4 blacks to one white.

It would be idle for anyone to pretend that for two such different racial groups as the Caucasian from Northern Europe and the Negro from Africa to live in the same area in such relative numbers does not present problems of the first magnitude.

What have the people of the Scuthern States done to solve these problems?

Following the War Between the States, when our grandfathers

were locked in tragic conflict, the dark days of Reconstruction lasted over a decade. The South was under military occupation. The white people were disfranchised. Negro supremacy was virtually complete. Cradually the white people of the South organized and recovered control of their local affairs. This process, coupled with a revulsion in national politics against the excesses and abuses of the Reconstruction brought an end to the era of Negro-carpetbagger rule that had brought possibly as much economic devastation to our region as four years of War.

There followed a period of some 80 years during which our biracial social system developed. This system might best be described
in the words of the famed Negro educator, Booker T. Washington, to the
effect that in economic matters we work together as one hand, but in
all things social we are as separate as the fingers.

Under this system, which is scornfully referred to as "segregation," but which should more accurately be termed "racial separation," the Negro in the South made more rapid strides in economic and educational progress than any ethnic group in the history of the world. This could not possibly have been achieved without the whole-hearted cooperation and assistance of his white neighbor.

Under our bi-racial system whites and blacks live side by side in an atmosphere of frank recognition of their respective cultural and racial differences, but with respect one for the other. The well defined code of personal decorum between white and black in the South has been the object of much ridicule from the social experts of New York City. But, gentlemen, that code arises from a consideration of the Negro's feelings, and a desire to spare him the cutting personal discriminations he does not escape in the Northern metropolis.

The point I wish to make is that we live with a social system that works. It is based on reality. It is based on law. It is based on the human experience of generations.

The ease with which families from the North become adjusted to the Southern environment would certainly seem to indicate that they do not find it unsympathetic or alien to their own attitudes.

The prevailing viewpoint of the overwhelming majority of Southern people ought to carry conclusive weight in any consideration of the problem. No thoughtful person could ascribe the entire folk-ways of a society to mere superficial bias without foundation in the facts of life.

On May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court lowered the boom! In the case of Brown vs. Board of Education it ruled that separation of the races in public schools was unconstitutional. The South was stunned, though any student of the subject could have seen that the trend of decisions since the Court's degeneration into a political board in the late New Deal days pointed straight to this doctrine.

The misconception has arisen, I find, cutside the Scuth, that the Supreme Court decision is quote the law of the land unquote, and that anyone who does not comply with it is violating or defying quote the law of the land unquote. That simply is not so. The Supreme Court ruling, without going into its legal defects and bald usurpation of power, is nothing more than the law of the particular case. The Supreme Court cannot pass laws, though we often are given that impression. The law of the land is the Constitution of these United States and legislation adopted by Congress.

Be that as it may, the important effect as far as we are concerned is that a weapon has been handed the left-wing pressure groups, and to the social revolutionaries who run them, with which they can wreck a quarter of this nation and more, if they are permitted to use it at will.

You may say, "What concern is this of mine, here in Oakland, Iowa? Sure, you folks down South have a problem, but why bother me with it."

May I say to you then when any Court takes leave of the law and starts rendering edicts based on sociology, it is high time for all Americans to wake up. I quote from an editorial entitled "The Rule of Whim" from the Omaha, Nebraska World-Herald: Quote, the desegregation opinion of some three years ago - in which the learned Chief Justice, the former Governor of California, Earl Warren, based his interpretation of the Constitution upon the writing of left-wing sociologists and psychiatrists - was little short of an open scandal end of quotation. If any Court can tell the people of Mississippi or Louisians that they shall run their public schools according to the theories of certain social revolutionaries, then that Court can tell the people of Iowa or Nebraska that they shall run their schools according to notions equally as radical. If our States' Rights are usurped with impunity, are yours safe?

It is true that the most obvious effects of the May 17th, or Black Monday, decision fall upon the Southern and border states. But all Americans who love their country should be vividly aware of the profound constitutional crisis this usurpation has precipitated.

We hear our country constantly referred to as a "democracy."

It is not. It is a republic of 48 sowereign states. When our constitution was submitted to the original 13 colonies, it was ratified by the colonies as separate political communities. The constitution, or contract, between the colonies, or states, established the central, or federal, government. Certain specific, limited powers were delegated by the states to the central government, principally the authority to provide for the common defense of the states and to operate post roads and post offices. All other powers not specifically granted to the central government were reserved to the states or to the people. We have indeed allowed ourselves to drift a long way when the hand of the central government is today in every man's business, and when it presumes to change the social structure of 40 million Americans regardless of their rights and wishes in the matter.

Gentlemen, I respectfully submit that how you run your schools is your business. I also submit that how we run our schools is our business. If the people in New York want to haul children across Manhattan and the Bronx just for the privilege of being in an integrated school, that is their business. If they want to keep police stationed in every integrated school to keep order, as a grand jury recently demanded, that is their business. If the Washington, D. C. School system wants to adopt policies that run the white parents cut of the District, that is their business. If the big cities of the North want political machines based on an irresponsible bloc vote, that is their business. If they want to integrate with the Buffalces on the Western plains, that is their business.

But if we in the South want to have social separation of the races, then that is <u>our</u> business.

I think most observers would agree that no single decision by a Surreme Court has caused as much dissension and turmoil, or has more dangerously threatened to re-open old sectional wounds, as has the school segregation ruling. Let us inquire for a moment into the reasons behind that decision. Then let us consider the probable effects and what the South is going to do.

In the first place, the radical pro-integration movement which brought about the Supreme Court decision is not primarily a Negro movement. It is especially not of Negro origin. The situation that confronts us at the present time did not "just happen." The Supreme Court did not just decide all of a sudden after searching through the law books that schools, buses, parks, swimming pools and residential subdivisions had to be integrated. We are seeing the fruits of half a century of intensive work by a number of inter-related pressure groups who knew exactly what they wanted, and who employed revolutionary techniques with considerable skill and ruthless effects to gain their objectives. One of their leaders said that the Supreme Court de-segregation decision was the result of fifty years of unremitting labor.

Of these pressure groups, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the best known, and the one specifically responsible for the Court decision. Its history dates from 1910. It was founded by Mary White Ovington, a social worker from New York, William Walling, a writer from Louisville, Ky., Dr. Henry Moskowitz, a New York political leader of Rumainian origin, Oswald Garrison Villard,

grandson of the famous abolitionist, Dr. John Dewey, founder of the Progressive Education movement, all five white, and W. E. B. DuBois the only Negro. Mary White Ovington, in her book about the NAACP, describes the founders as Socialists. DuBois became editor of the official NAACP publication, The Crisis, and was for many years the organization's chairman. DuBois has one of the longest records of pro-Communist activity of any person in the country.

The first legal victory of the NAACP dates all the way back to 1915. In that year, Miss Ovington writes, they won a decision from the Supreme Court throwing out the grandfather clause with respect to voting qualifications in the Oklahoma constitution. She also says that their legal Committee included such men as Clarence Darrow, Francis Biddle, Frank Murphy and Felix Frankfurter. This is the same Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter who filled up the New Deal bureaus with "bright young men" from Harvard, and who participated in the very school cases engineered by the NAACP.

It is interesting to note that the record shows financing amounting to \$133,850 was provided for the NAACP during the early depression years by The American Fund for Public Service. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, has the following to say about The American Fund for Public Service:

Quote "Established in 1922 * * * it was a major source for the financing of Communist Party Enterprises" such as the Daily Worker and New Masses, official Communist publications, Federated Press, Russian Reconstruction Farms, and International Labor Defense. William Z. Foster, present chairman, Communist Party, and Scott Nearing, a leading writer

for the Party, served on the board of directors of the Fund" end of quotation.

The public record of activities of many top NAACP leaders in Communist-front enterprises is long, and it is copicusly documented.

A former top Communist, a graduate of the Lenin School in Moscow, testified under oath last year that some NAACP leaders held memberships for 12 to 15 years in Communist front organizations. He said it would be impossible to stay with the Communists for this long through all the party line changes and flip flops in policy unless the Communist doctrine had been absorbed. He said the NAACP use of the recent Supreme Court decisions on segregation is an example of the communistic methods of helping create conflicts, and that racial incitation accomplished by the Communists and recently by the NAACP has brought about a menacing bloc vote on the part of Negroes.

A New York Negro, former high official in the Communist Party, has under oath described the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as having Quote outlived its usefulness and become a vehicle of the Communist Party designed to overthrow the government of the United States end of quotation.

In 1953 the NAACP officially launched a 10 year, 10 million dollar nationwide program under the slogan, "Free by Sixty-Three." The purpose of the campaign is to prepare public opinion for the total integration of Negroes into white society, and the deadline has been set for 1963.

At the present time the NAACP operates under a \$1,000,000 annual budget, with half of it devoted to propaganda.

On the NAACP board of directors are listed such celebrities as: Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, Daisy Bates of Little Rock fame, former Senator Herbert Lehman of New York, Walter Reuther of the U.A.W.-C.I.O. and Eleanor Roosevelt of One World and cuter space.

This is the organization that brought about the Supreme Court "desegregation" decision, as it is called. It supplied the plaintiffs, supplied the lawyers, and virtually supplied the evidence cited. (An American Dilemma by Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish socialist, was largely the product of NAACP writers). It was influential enough to get the U.S. Justice Department to intervene as an amicus curiae, it had one of its former legal advisors sitting on the bench, and provided the financing for the cases. After getting this sociological decision which flew in the face of 80 years of legal precedent, who do we find acting as the policeman to enforce the decision? The NAACP.

At this very moment, that organization is going all out to build up a vast Negro voting bloc across the South.

From our observations of the fate of Northern metropolitan areas where this organization and its allies are in power, it takes no great intelligence to conclude that we can never permit them to gain comparable power in our section. It would mean a repetition of the Reconstruction are in the South.

But do not take my word for it. Let them speak for themselves.

In Collier's magazine of August 17, 1956 there appeared a highly significant article entitled "The Negro Voter -- Can He Elect A President?" The article was thorough and objective. The sims of these people were summed up as follows: Quote Strategy of the highly organized Negro pressure groups is stated with unquestionable clarity and

accuracy: This strategy is as simple as it is profound. It is to alter totally the patterns of scuthern custom and life. How is this to be accomplished? We are told: Negroes speak of this objective from their own parochial point of view. But on the broad scene, the attainment of this objective will change our national politics at a stroke. For the Old South, with its familiar voices in Congress -- so often distinguished, so often antique -- will be dead. The new man it sends to Congress, to be elected in large part by colored votes, must speak in different accents entirely. Then, truly, the roots of Concress change and politics lurch into new, uncharted seas end of quotation.

I leave it to your judgment as to whether the best interests of our country would be served by replacing Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia with another Charles Diggs, or Senator Richard Russell of Georgia with another Adam Clayton Powell.

I have mentioned only the NAACP.

Time permits me only to name a few of the other inter-related organizations which divide up the field.

The Urban League, founded in 1910, operates on a budget of \$2,500,000 a year. It concentrates on integration in the fields of (1) housing and (2) employment. The public record shows much of its leadership involved in Communist-front activity over a long period of years.

The Fund for the Republic, established by the Ford Foundation, has poured \$2,000,000 into the race integration fight in the South in the past three years. Much of this has taken the form of grants to religious denominations to finance various integration projects and

propaganda. The largest single grant amounted to \$445,000 for Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, which has affiliates in every Southern state except Mississippi. The Mississippi affiliate folded after being exposed in a public hearing. Southern Regional Council is regarded as the southern nerve center of the integration campaign. I quote from the American Legion's official publication Firing Line: Quote Records of the American Legisn reveal a definite trend of interrelationship between the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, a defunct Communist front organization The House Committee on Un-American Activities end of quotation. cited Southern Conference For Human Welfare as a Communist-front organization quote which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South although its professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the The American Legion goes on to show that United States unquote. 16 former directors and 9 current directors of Southern Regional Council were affiliated with the subversive Southern Conference For Human Welfare, which Earl Browder has described as quote one of the transmission belts of the Communist Party end of quotation.

There have been few major undertakings in history which are better documented than the deep involvement of the Communists in the race incitation and integration controversy in this country. This is not to say, of course, that everyone who is for integration is a Communist. That is certainly not true. But it is to say that the Communists and their hundreds of respectable fronts have been and are one

of the major sources of support and agitation for the integration drive.

Let us consider now for a moment the probable effects of the Supreme Court's excursion into race relations.

For this purpose, may be divide the country into four categories of varying ratios of Negro population and distribution. It is important to remember that the South is geographically integrated. Its Negro population is predominantly rural. The North is geographically segregated. Its Negro population is almost completely confined to the big cities.

First category Those states where the Negro percentage is negligible. Iowa with 75/100 of one percent is a good example. Here you have no problem. However, you will begin to see a determined effort made for increased social prestige, such as an occasional Negro campus "beauty queen," etc. It makes little difference to their careers whether or not your representatives vote for the misnamed civil rights bills because there is no issue at home, and they can accede to the demands of the national party without fear of adverse reaction at the polls.

Second category. Those states where the Negro ratio is around 6 to 7 percent, but highly concentrated in strictly segregated metropolitan slums. Illinois, with 7.3 percent of her total population colored, is an example. Most of these live in Southside Chicago. They are increasing rapidly due to migrants from the South. They are highly organized politically, very militant and explosive. It is predicted by some that Chicago will have a Negro mayor in a few years. The danger of serious race war from the expanding Negro slums is acute. We are

beginning to see definite signs of resistance among the whites and the organization of neighborhood protective associations. Tensions stay high. Demands of the Negro pressure groups are extreme. It is not improbable that we will see the creation of a white bloc vote along strictly racial lines as a result. It should be noted that until recent years the North has not experienced real integration in the sense it is now being pushed.

Third category The border states such as Tennessee, with 16.12 percent Negro, which have a history of segregation, but where the white population has hertofore been substantially indifferent to the issue. Here there has been some integration in the schools, but far less than is generally supposed. Here we see the incidents such as Little Rock, Clinton, etc. With the exception of Washington, D. C. which is rapidly becoming re-segregated with all deliberate speed due to the excdus of white parents with school age children, integration has ground to a screeching halt in the border states. Pro-segregation sentiment and organizations are increasing. Friction is rising in the trouble spots and it is apparently becoming more difficult for the NAACP to find school boards and politicians who will cooperate with the ir demands.

Fourth category In the Deep South states, such as my own Mississippi, with 45.28 percent colored, there has been no integration whatsoever in the public schools since the Black Monday decision.

There are no prospects of any. The Negro farm population is rapidly moving North, and thousands of young white couples are moving South with industry.

State legislatures have erected an intricate network of laws designed to maintain separate but equal schools. In the words of Senator Byrd of Virginia, "Massive Resistance" has become public policy. Any candidate for public office who is less than militant on the burning issue would be unmercifully beaten at the polls.

How did this happen? How is it that with all these power-ful, highly financed pressure groups arrayed against us, aided by the Supreme Court, both national political parties, oceans of propaganda from the metropolitan press, many religious groups at the national level with some Southern penetration, hundreds of college professors, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the President's FEPC and the lolst Airborne Infantry, that we haven't just caved in?

I admit the other side has pretty good odds.

From a distance our position looks much worse than it does at home. There are several reasons for this. The main one is that we cannot be integrated from Washington by the bureaucrats, or even from New York by the eggheads. The only way we can be integrated is at home. And we are doing plenty about that.

You may have heard about the Citizens' Councils. According to the pro-integration forces, the Citizens' Councils are responsible for stopping race mixing in its tracks and for the resurgence of States' Rights sentiment throughout the region.

What are the Citizens' Councils? How do they operate? How have they accomplished their objectives, and what are their objectives.

Having devoted the past three years to the movement, I have some familiarity with it.

Let me say first, several things that the Citizens'

Councils are not. They are not Ku Kluxers. They are not John

Kaspers. Mr. Kasper has no connection whatsoever with the Citizens'

Councils in the South. He is from Greenwich Village, New York

The Citizens' Councils are not anti-Negro. A sharp distinction has always been drawn between the great masses of Southern Negroes and the NAACP, which has attempted to portray itself as their representative.

It does not take much perception to realize that the integrationists' propaganda is skillfully designed to make anyone who does not go along with them appear an ignorant, unchristian, bigoted, hatemongering, racist reactionary. Whereas, he who agrees with their views is an intelligent, well educated, christian, tolerant, progressive, liberal, man of good will.

We knew when we started organizing to protect our rightful interests from the assaults of the groups mentioned previously that we would be maligned and subjected to the most vicious personal attacks. But it was a price that had to be paid.

I will not dwell on the history of the Councils. John

Bartlow Martin, one of America's most respected journalists, wrote a dispassionate and objective series of five articles for the Saturday Evening

Post last summer under the title "The Deep South Says NEVER" that covers the subject. The series has been expanded into book form under the same title.

I will describe the Council movement briefly as it now stands.

Each Citizens' Council is completely autonomous, independent and self-governing. Each is organized on a strictly local basis. The smallest would include a cross roads community with 50 members or so. There are hundreds of these. Some are set up on a county-wide basis, the largest geographical unit. The largest single organization is the Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans which has 30,000 members. Most Councils are chartered under the laws of their respective states as non-profit corporations. Each Council makes its own by-laws governing requirements for membership, elects it own officers, collects its own dues, handles its own local problems, etc. The local leadership is elected from civic-minded men exactly like you in this room. All of the local officers in a county will elect one man to serve as county chairman. The 69 county chairmen in my state form the state association, which coordinates through a 24-man executive committee the 300 separate Citizens' Councils in Mississippi, having an aggregate membership of 85,000.

The executive committee sets the policies for our Mississippi State Association and is responsible for the operation of two offices at Greenwood and Jackson, each staffed by five persons. These officers act as information and organizational centers. I work in the Jackson

office, and serve at the pleasure of my directors.

There are nine similarly well organized responsible state associations which work together on a regional basis through the Citizens' Councils of America, which has three men from each state on its board. These states are South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas. The total size of the movement is estimated at approximately 350,000 active members.

To give you an idea of our approach to the sizeable task before us, our office in Jackson has three functions. It serves as local headquarters for the Jackson Citizens' Council which has 3,000 members. It handles public relations for the Mississippi State Association, and publishes the official paper of the Citizens' Councils of America, which has a considerable nation-wide circulation. In addition, we have produced for nearly a year a weekly 15-minute television program. The latest audience rating survey indicates 125,000 viewers. The program is now being transcribed on tape especially edited for radio and will be offered to radio stations throughout the South. We are considering placing the program on selected Northern stations, if they are interested. Almost every high public official in Mississippi has appeared on the program in full support of the Citizens' Councils. Five congressmen appeared on one panel discussion. In addition, such notables as Congressman Martin Dies of Texas and Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia have been featured guests.

Our two offices have participated in the organization of scores of local Councils. We have a highly qualified lady in charge of ladies activities. Our state association has supplied speakers for countless civic and patriotic groups, including two in California and siz in Chicago. Our correspondence for three years has ranged from 300 to as high as 700 pieces a week. In the past two years, as the South became better organized and assured, the bulk of our correspondence has originated in the North and far West. Gentlemen, I can tell you that Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland and Detroit are powder kegs. We hear personal stories that would curl your hair. Life, limb and property are in daily peril in large areas of those models of integration that we are told we must emulate.

To illustrate the operation of a local Council, let us look at the one in my own home town, which is the most familiar to me.

Jackson is a clean, modern, well ordered city of 150,000. 40% of its population is colored. They pay 4% of its taxes. The schools for both races are excellent by any standards. We have a fine city auditorium for the exclusive use of the colored people which is better than the old national guard armory used by the whites. Well appointed parks with swimming pools are provided for both races.

The Jackson Citizens' Council was organized in early 1955. At that time our people felt discouraged and most would gloomily admit that while they didn't like it, "integration was coming." The years of propaganda instilling the idea of inevitability had taken effect. The Council started out with 150 members. By summer it had increased to about 500. Then the local NAACP demanded that the Jackson Schools

integrate, and threatened discipline by the Courts if immediate compliance was not forthcoming. The Council stood firm by the school board, and the demands were ignored. Evidence of deception began to appear as signers of the integration demand began to withdraw with statements their names had been obtained under false pretenses. The attempt collapsed.

The Jackson Citizens' Council now has grown to 3,000 members. A thousand joined during the Little Rock incident. The Council represents a cross section of almost every social and economic level.

Among our 50 member board of directors are 9 past presidents of the chamber of commerce. By occupation, our board of directors includes 8 lawyers, 2 bank presidents, 3 manufacturers, 1 gas utility president, 1 electric utility executive vice president, 2 paper company owners, 2 insurance agents, 1 funeral director, 3 housewives, a deputy state tax collector, a TV station manager, a dentist, 3 public relations men, an investigator for the Public Service Commission, a dry cleaner, 3 union men (AFL, CIO, RR), a supermarket manager, the State Bank Comptroller, an oil man and a general contractor.

We are organizing down to the precinct and block level.

We now have started a house to house canvass and survey which is expected conservatively to increase the membership to 10,000. The Council is experienced and alert. It has gained the sense of manceuver in this type of psychological warfare that is so important to victory. It has learned successful tactics that will win against the kind of revolutionary groups we face.

Our strategy is elementally simple, as you may have guessed.

It is simply to out-organize, out-wit and out-work those who would take over our beloved land.

With the kind of organization we are building, with responsible, sensible leadership, and with its influence deeply rooted in the power structure of the community, we firmly believe that the ideals of personal freedom and property rights under which this country has grown great will prevail for us and for our children.

The Citizens' Councils are strictly non-political, but the political effects of their grass-roots work will undoubtedly be felt increasingly in state government. They are non-denominational, but untold numbers of devout church members have multiplied the Council's educational work by getting their churches out of politics and sociology, and back to the Word of God. The Councils number members of all faiths in their ranks - Protestants, Catholics, Jews and a few Greek Orthodox. In south Louisiana the movement is predominantly Catholic.

The Councils have published and distributed over 7,000,000 pieces of literature since their inception. These include essays and articles by Senators, Congressmen, attorneys, ministers, college presidents, judges, and other qualified authorities discussing various aspects of race relations and the struggle against centralized government.

Many of these have been used widely in our schools to counteract the unceasing flood of integration propaganda filtering down through the various media.

Why, you may ask, are you telling us these things? After all, we have our own problems, and we are not that interested in what the

folks do down in Dixie.

May I respectfully submit to you, gentlemen, that you have a profound stake in what we do, and in what happens to us.

Has it occurred to you that the social revolutionaries who are working to remake the South in their own image are not just interested in racial integration? They are above all collectivists. They are driving for increased national power. The South has to be dealth with because it stands squarely in their way as the strongest remaining bulwark of our constitutional form of government that protects your property rights and your personal freedoms as well as ours.

How long do you think you would enjoy your own rightful interests if these revolutionaries succeed in establishing a totalitarian welfare state in Washington? Do not deceive yourselves. Since 1932 the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and the other deals have never wavered from one course, however soothing the words or how alluring the promises That unswerving course is the steady march toward an all powerful centralized government.

ment. They represent the substantial beginnings of a fundamental conservative revolt. The thousands of men who have given unstintingly of their time and substance are moved by a deep unrest that has been growing for the past 25 years, but this unrest was not impelled to active organized form until the bald attempt to abolish the constitution by judicial decree in 1954 precipitated a crisis.

The Citizens' Councils are not just a sectional, Southern movement. It is very significant, to name one instance, that we find

ourselves working side by side with other patriotic groups in the North, to defend the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act from heavy attack by the Communists and their allies.

The Citizens' Councils, as you have seen, are not just an extremist minority. They represent the broad stream of thought and attitude in our section.

There is a direct conflict of interest between the conservative people of this country and these totalitarian "liberals" who would use the Negro as a means to power.

It is my deliberate and considered opinion that if our friends and fellow contrymen in the other great sections of our land will organize themselves and become an effective responsible force in their local communities and states, the growing threat of a collectivist welfare state will be speedily dissolved.

the Scuth's most eloquent spokesman, Henry W. Grady, said before the Boston Merchants Association: "If there is any human force that cannot be withstood, it is the power of the banded intelligence and responsibility of a free community. Against it, numbers and corruption cannot prevail. It cannot be forbidden in the law or divorced in force. It is the inalienable right of every free community - and the just and righteous safeguard against an ignorant or corrupt suffrage. It is on this, sir, that we rely in the Scuth. Not the cowardly menace of mask or shotgun! but the peaceful majesty of intelligence and responsibility, massed and unified for the protection of its homes and the preservation of its liberty. That, sir, is our reliance and our hope, and against it all the powers of the earth shall not prevail."

Thank you.

The statement by J. Edgar I to the N.A.A.C.P.

was not dominated by subver a statement to

which we referred in a recent issue and which you

disputed -- was made by Mr. Hoover in 1947. Mr.

Hoover confirmed this in his January 15 letter to

of Va. The subversion charges

de more recently against the N.A.A.C.P. refer to

ged events prior to Mr. Hoover's statement."

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COU

207 WEST MARKET STREET GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI

March 7, 1958

Mr. Boardman Mr. Belmon Mr. Mohr. Mr. New Mr. Pan Mr. Rd Mr. Tan Mr. Tro Mr. Clayton Tele. Room. Mr. Holloman. Miss Gandy

Mr. Tolson

Mr. Warren H. Phillips The Wall Street Journal 44 Droad Street New York 4, New York

Dear Mr. Phillips:

I containly appreciate your letter written March 4, regarding Mr. J. Digar Hoover and the MAACP.

The Wall Street Journal of Thursday, January 10, 1958, o page 4, stated,

"Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia insists the Association is dominated by "subversive elements" -a charge refuted by FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover."

I do not believe that Mr. J. Edgar Hoover ever said that the MAACH "was not dominated by subversives, as your letter states did, or refuted any charge of subversion against it.

I charge the only Negro founder of the NAACP as being a Communist sympathiser, as documented in the enclosure dated February 17, 1958. For your further information, I am enclosing excerpts from the history of the NAACP written by one of its founders.

If it giver becomes expedient to tell the truth about the trouble making NAACP, these facts may be of interest to you.

MAR 18 1963

BP:mt Caclosure

to: FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoever

Engone Cock

Postscript on J. Edgar Hoover

This past Friday, we somenented liberal spokement that Mr. Hoover, the briefly upon an exchange of correspondance between J. Edgar Hoover, director munist subvession, has given the MACP a "class bill of health." of the FBI, and Hob Patterson, head of the Mississippi Citigens Council. Mr. Patterson had reed in the Wall Street Journal that Mr. Hover had "refuted" charges, made by Attorney General Cook of Georgia, of Communist infiltration and pro-Communist affiliation within the higher sunks of the NAACP. Mr. Patterson waste Mr. Hoover and asked, What about this? Mr. Hoover and asked, What about this? Mr. Hoover

asked, What about this? Mr. Hoover replied that he had never said one word about Mr. Coek's charges.

Now some further wire province has been brought to our attention, in an exchange of letters have weeks any between Mr. Hoover and State Senator Ed O. McCoe. Those letters have value to persons who are active participants in the conflict which abserts the South, for the statement is constantly made by

The facts of the matter, as set forth by Mr. Heover in a letter to Senator McCue, are that in 1947, more than 10 wears ego, he wrote a letter to the late Walter White, then executive director of the NAACP. Mr. Hoover did not mention the Communist issue in any way. He said then, in 1947, that the NAACP had done much to preserve the principles of equality, freedom and tolerance "and to perpetuate the desires of our founding fathers."

These and of course made any state-

"I have not, of course, made any state-ments regarding the NAACP since that time."

Nothing more needs to be said. This is one canard, at least, that can be laid to rest.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

44 Broad Street - New York 4.N.Y.

MANUEN H. PHILLIPS

March. 4, 1956

Mr. Citizens Middless 207 Magt Market Street Grands Migs 1881211

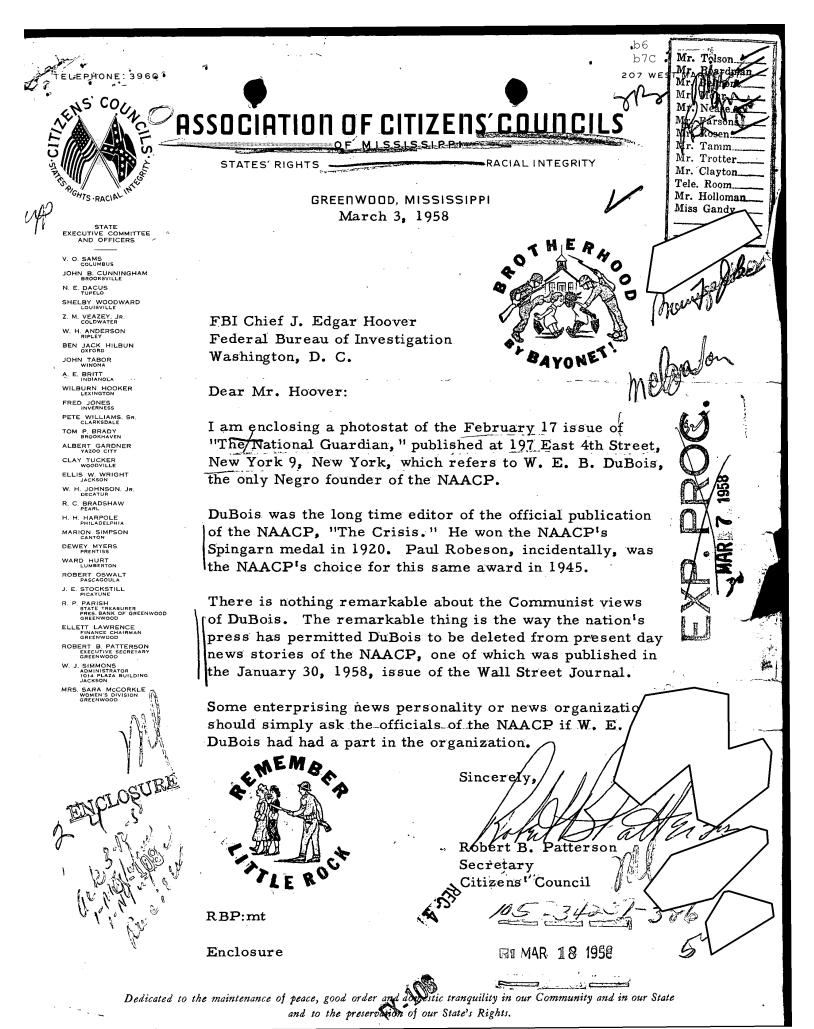
Door Mr. Pottersons

The statement by 3. Miger Moover that the M.A.A.C.s was not deminated by subversives — a statement to which we referred in a recent issue and which you disputed — was made by Mr. Hoover in 1947. Mr. Moover senfixmed this in his Jamesry 15 letter to _______ of ______ Vr. The subversion charges made more recently against the M.A.A.C.P. refer to allegistation prior to Mr. Hoover a pthreadity.

Very trally yours

West Co

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ENCLOSURE

W. E. B. DUBOIS LOOKS AHEAD

A vista of ninety fruitful years

By W. E. B. DuBois

THIS IS THE MONTH of my 90th birthday. I have lived to an age which is increasingly distasteful to this nation. Unless by 60 a man has gained possession of enough to support himself without paid employment, he faces the distinct possibility of starvation. He is liable to lose his job and to refusal if he seeks another. At 70 he is frowned upon by the Church and if he is foolish enough to survive until 90, he is often regarded as a freak

This is because in the face of human experience the United States has discovered that Youth knows more than Age. When a man of 35 becomes president of a great institution of learning or United States Senator or head of a multi-million dollar corporation, a cry of triumph rings in the land. Why? To pretend that 15 years bring of themselves more wisdom and understand. ing than 50 is a contradiction in terms.

Given a fool, a hundred years will not make him wise; but given an idiot, he will not be wise at 20. Youth is more courageous than age because it knows less. Age is wiser than youth because it knows more. This all manking has affirmed from Egypt and China 5,000 years ago to Britain and Germany today.

THE UNITED STATES KNOWS BETTER, I would have been halled with approval if I had died at 50. At 75 my death was practically requested. If living does Bot give value, wisdom and meaning to life, then there ts no sense in living at all. If immature and inexperienced men role the worth, then the earth deserves what it gets: the reportion of ago-old mistakes, and wild it veloces for what the knows thousand years ago was

Lis not exclosing for Bring long, High on the ramparts of this blistering hell of life, I sit and see the Truth I look it full in the face and I will not lie about it, neither to wheat mer in the world. They my country Baltrage apply characterizes as a Printened Clank" atraid of Sections shald of Peace, I see a land whiten west and and faces decadence, unices & has seven



Drawing by Fred Wright staved anyone and which is animated by humane ideals."



President may that Poster Dulles is the wisest man he knows. If Dulles is wise, God help our fools the fools who rule us.

They know why we fall—these pollings matters of men-we haven't taught our children mathematics and physics. No. It is because we have not taught durant tiren to read and write or to behave like human beings and not like hoodlums, Every child on my street whooping to up with toy guns and big boys with real pistols. When Elvis Presley goes through the numbers of copulation on the public stage it takes the city pai children from Ersteria

we have show publicly to silene Larry level through disagreement, vilification were and was again. But in all that time I have never even the right of human beings to think at chart and dinled at today.

The day after I was born, Andrew histon wa

one denied him the right to d CENTURY AGO, IN 1910, I carry into realization unpopular a politic opposition in the white North, and even among my y discussively a missensitated of propers o ay what I believed

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white across World and Africa, Vikit the history of Africa an Baule for Prece Copy son to ainstre the life an Di DiBote cho above all o

By W. E. B. DuBois

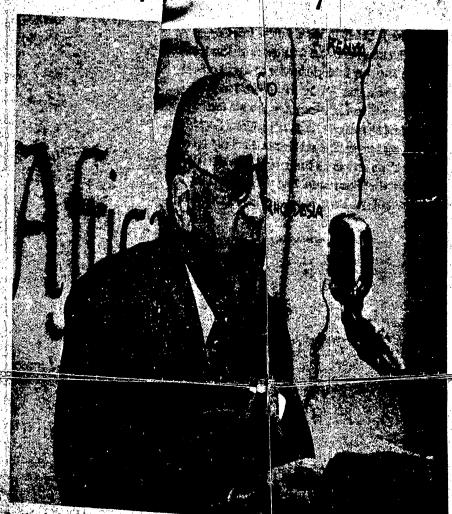
E MONTH of my 90th birthday. I have I age which is increasingly distasteful to inless by 60 a man has gained possession support himself without paid employthe distinct possibility of starvation. He e his job and to refusal if he seeks ane is frowned upon by the Church and if nough to survive until 90, he is often rereak

use in the face of human experience the has discovered that Youth knows more en a man of 35 becomes president of a in of learning or United States Senator sulti-million dollar corporation, a cry of in the land. Why? To pretend that 15 hemselves more wisdom and understanda contradiction in terms.

- a hundred years will not make him an idiot, he will not be wise at 20. Youth ous than age because it knows less. Age routh because it knows more. This all firmed from Egypt and China 5,000 years und Germany today.
- STATES KNOWS BETTER, I would tiled with approval if I had died at 50. was practically requested. If living does wisdom and meaning to life, then there ying at all. If immature and inexperibe earth then the earth deserves what comon of ege-old mistakes, and wild if man know a thousand years ago was

the lor living long. High on the ramstering hell of life, I sit and see the hill in the face, and I will not lie about paid now by the world. Face my country Dalings aprily thanscribes at a at," alraid of the Truth straid of and which is magine and and faces s it has sense enough to sure about

Drawing by Fred Wright iks of us as a land which has never enad which is animated by humane ideals." Eisenhower in his State of the Union) Congress, Jan. 9, 1958.



President mays that Poster Dulles is the wisest man he knows. If Dulles is wise, God help aux fools the fools Who rule us

They know why we fall the inen-we haven't taught our child physics. No, it is because we have the suppose tires haread and write or to see and not like hoodiums. Every child on my stress whooping to up with toy guns and big boys with real pistols, When Elvis Presley goes through the motions of copulation on the public stage it takes the city pully

abildren from Listeria egeble of Volder unt was he saw th have level through disagreement, will feation, a the and the again, had in all that time, I have never seen the right of human beings to think of challen

The day after I was born, Andrew Sibasin see inpeached. He descriped punishment as a miles to the poor fouthern whites and poorer freedman Yes during

one denied him the right to defend himself.

CENTURY AGO. IN 1910, I tried to state Earry into realisation unpopular ideas against a partyl opposition in the white South in the try North, and even among my own people. I dibunch y missessive and i printed of propers. The Crist-where I would of the what he even

as no easy sailing. My magazine reached but a the nation. It was pitterly attacked and once suppres rit. But in the and I mainthinking on the Nepra

While demon World and Africa, Viking Press when the and de-World and Airica, Viking Fresh Dayle for Perce Copy of Allica and week, the son to ainste the life and the work of Displayed the life and the work of rescued

Repro history from academic and political Series and from accounts one posterior Me Montiglia of his freat career.

10 NATIONAL GUARDIAN

"SUPPOSE THERE HAD BEEN NO DUBOIS!"

An American titan in a



At the N.Y. World Peace Conference, March, 1949, Dr. DuBots. Familiar figure at GUARDIAN dinners, the as his fartet composer Shostakovich and Bishop A. W. Moulton. doctor here wishes US a happy hirthday. shown about the



THERE HAD BEEN NO DUBOIS!

n American titan in a





mediocrity



World Peace Conference, March, 1949, Dr. DuBois Familiar figure at GUARDIAN dinners, the A staunch porter of independent political section, he is sensor Shortakovich and Bishop A. W. Montian doctor here wishes US a happy birthday, shown about the late Congressman Vite Marcantonia.

March 12, 1958

b6 **&**b7C **3**∼

Mr. Robert B. Patterson Secretary Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi 207 Nest Market Street Greenwood, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Patterson:

Your letter of March 3, enclosures, has been received.

I appreciate the interest which prompted your communication and your observations

Sincerely yours,

L Mogar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover Director

- Memphis (Enclosure) - New York (Enclosure)

NOTE TO SACS. MEMPHIS AND NEW YORK:

Enclosed for your information is a copy. of correspondent's letter.

Robert B. Patterson, secretary of the Appropriate the partiers of the property of the property of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, a property of the property of the property of the 2-17-53 tissue of the Mational Guardian?" 3 Page 77 contains an article by birthday and page 10 contains an article by (NOTE TO SACS CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)

(SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE 2)

Nichols Boardman Belmont Mohr

Parsons. Rosen . Tamm

Trotter ~ Nease. Tele. Room

Holloman . Gandy -

Mr. Robert B. Patterson

NOTE TO SACS, MEMPHIS AND NEW YORK CONTINUED:

Louis E. Burnham in which he pays tribute to Dubois for championing the Negroe cause. DuBois criticizes the U. S. today for stifling criticism, decadence and concludes with the statement he will seek a world where the ideals of communism will triumph and he will work for this as long as he lives. He comments that in 1910 he tried to carry into realization unpopular ideas but met with powerful opposition in both the North and South and planned an organ of propaganda, "The Crisis" where he would be free to say what he believed. This magazine, however, reached a fraction of the nation and war and depression forced an end to his independence of thought and forced him to return to teaching.

DuBois has been the subject of a security investigation by the New York Office (New York file #100-20789) based on his communist affiliations and is on the Security Index. (100-99729)

Louis E. Burnham is also a Security Index subject, New York origin. (100-135255)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Patterson refers to the fact DuBois was the long-time editor of the official publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), "The Crisis." He says there is nothing remarkable about the communist fiews of DuBois but the remarkable thing is the way the nation's press has permitted DuBois' name to be deleted from present day news stories of the NAACP. He observes that some enterprising news personality or news organization should simply ask the officials of the NAACP if DuBois had a part in the organization.

The "National Guardian" has been cited in the revised Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications of the 84th Congress, 1st Session, as a communist or communist-front publication and is the subject of a pending security investigation. (100-357044)

(NOTE ON YELLOW CONTINUED ON PAGE 3)

Mr. Robert B. Patterson

NOTE ON YELLOW CONTINUED:

Bufiles reflect Patterson has been used as a source of information concerning citizens' councils by Agents of the Memphis Office and his letters have been afforded cordial acknowledgments. The last letter sent to him was dated 7-8-57. (105-34237-353)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT Director, FBI (105-34237) DATE: 3/25/58 FROM: AC. Baltimore (100-20067) SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS IS - X Re Baltimore letter, 2/25/58. STEPS TAKEN TO INSURE SUCCESS AND IMPLEMENT PROGRAM OF CITIZENS COUNCIL COVERAGE Continued efforts are being made to insure that this Bureau will be in a position to know if acts of violence are contemplated or if plans are being made concerning violations of laws within the jurisdiction of the Bureau, particularly relating to civil rights. During interview of under captioned program in which he appeared cooperative, he suggested as a possible individual suitable for contact. In this respect, consideration is being given to development of background information concerning preparatory to interview. Background information is being developed on and b6 prior to interview and possible use of these b7C b7D persons as sources in the and areas, respectively. RESULTS, ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND INDIVIDUALS DEVELOPED DURING PRECEDING 30 DAYS. has been contacted for the purpose or optaining coverage in this area, and in view of his willingness to cooperate with the Bureau, he is being considered a source of information concerning Citizens Council and KKK activity in that area. **REC-83** - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL) 6 - Baltimore 1 - 100-20576 WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL, SALISBURY 1 - 100-18552 MD. PETITION COMMITTEE 1 - 100-19784 BALTO. ASSOC. FOR STATES RIGHTS MAR 1 - 100-20083 TALBOT WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL

GOS:sm (8)

1 - 100-20547

EX-128

DEL. CITIZENS COUNCIL

BA 100-20067

was interviewed 1/31/58 and appeared cooperative	b6
in this interview concerning Citizens Council activity in the	b7C
	b7D
is being considered a security source of information.	

Although no information has been received to date concerning contemplated acts of violence or violations of laws within the Bureau's jurisdiction, development of coverage of Citizens Councils is being continued.

SAC, Baltimore (100-20067)

March 31, 1958

Director, FBI (105-34237-3)

CITIZENS COUNCILS INTERNAL SECURITY - X

REC-31

Reurlet dated March 25, 1958.

In order for the Bureau to have a complete picture of the citizens council coverage by your office you are instructed to promptly submit the following information:

- (1) Names of all citizens councils in existence in your territory.
- (2) Coverage in each council. names or symbol numbers of all sources should be set forth together with information as to whether or not each source is a member of a council.
- (3) Steps taken to implement present coverage.

CFW:d1h (4)

RECEIVEL

Tolson Nichols . Boardman .

Belmont : Mohr _

Parsons .

Rosen -Tamm. Trotter. Nease _ Tele, Room 105-34237-38 in this file skipped during serialization.

AUG 2 1960

Office Memorandum: United States Government

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W	$\mathcal{O}_{\mathcal{O}}$	

Director, FBI (105-34237)

DATE:

3/24/58 that AMIS

3/28/58

FROM

SAC, Little Bock (105-170)

SUBJECT:

CITIZENS COUNCILS OF AMERICA APKANSAS DIVISION, aka IS-X

M

whose identity is known to the Bureau, advised on 3/27/58 as follows:

told

b2 b7

b6 b7C b7D

Reverend WESLEY FRUDEN, president of the Capital Citizens
Council, were making speeches in other towns in the State of
Arkansas at every opportunity. According to these
speakers are interested in getting Citizens Councils organized
and active in every town possible. The informant noted PRUDEN
had recently spoken at Junction City, Arkansas, and both PRUDEN
and GUTHRIDGE had spoken at Pine Eluff, Arkansas, in recent
weeks. PRUDEN was recently scheduled to address the Clark
County Citizens Council, Arkadelphia, Arkansas, in January
1958 but was unable to attend because of icy condition of
roads.

D.

2 - Bureau (105-34237)

3 - Little Rock (105-170, 105-189,

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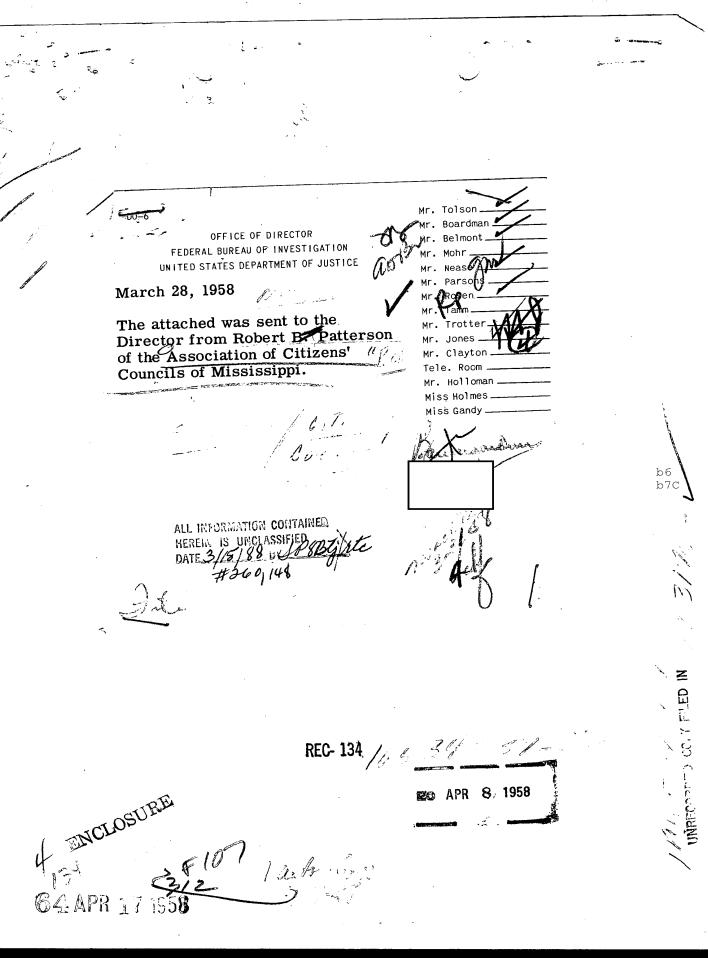
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60 APR 4 1958



COPY

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS 207 WEST MARKET STREET GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI

March 24, 1958

1/E-5/01

The Editor
Wall Street Journal
44 Broad Street
New York 4, New York

Dear Sir:

I certainly appreciate your sending me the copy of your lefter to Senator McCue of Virginia, regarding John Edgar Hoover's comments about the NAACP.

The original bone of contention was that "Mr. Hoover has never refuted Attorney General Cook's charges against the NAACP."

I do not doubt that the NAACP's public policy is to "publicly" denounce any Communist attempts at infiltration.

My original point was in pointing out the obvious emission in the Wall Street Journal's story on the NAACP of its only Negro founder, W. E. B. DuBois. He was the long time editor of their official publication, and also was a Board member for years until his Communist affiliations became embarrassing.

I am enclosing excerpts from the story of the NAACP as told by one of its founders. Should it ever become expedient to tell the truth about the NAACP, in New York, and elsewhere, these facts might prove helpful.

ALT INHORN ATION CONTAINED THE BUTTON IS UNCLASSIFIED BRITISHED DATE 3/15/88 LOSBY LE

Sincerely,

Robert B. Patterson

Secretary

Citizens' Council

RBP:mt

cc:

Senator Edward O. McCue, III FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

PAICT OCTION

Wall Street Journal 44 Broad Street New York 4, New York

March 18, 1958

Senator Edward O. McCue, III 412 Bast Jefferson Street Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Senator McCue

Thank you for your March 12 letter.

Mr. Moover made certain comments on the NAACP in a letter to the late Walter White. I believe you are familiar with the letter, and have even corresponded with Mr. Hoover on the subject. I believe the letter included a remark that he thought the organization had done much "to perpetuate the desires of our founding fathers" — a comment hardly consistent with acceptance of the charge of domination by subversives. Though the letter was written 1947, the charges of domination by subversives that have been made refer to events alleged to have taken place prior to that time

More recently, Mr. Hoover discusses the NAACP in his new book on communities, Masters of Decoit. The Communists, he says have made 'vigorous efforts to infiltrate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This organisation in 1950 authorized its board of directors to revoke the charter of any chapter found to be communist—controlled."

Me then goes on to list some of the Red attempts at infiltration and declares: "The MACP's national leadership has vigorously denounced communist attempts at infiltration. In 1956, when the MACP and other organizations sponsored a Mational Conference on Civil Rights in Washington, the Party attempted to 'move in,' and started promoting the conference. The MACP countered by screening the delegates."

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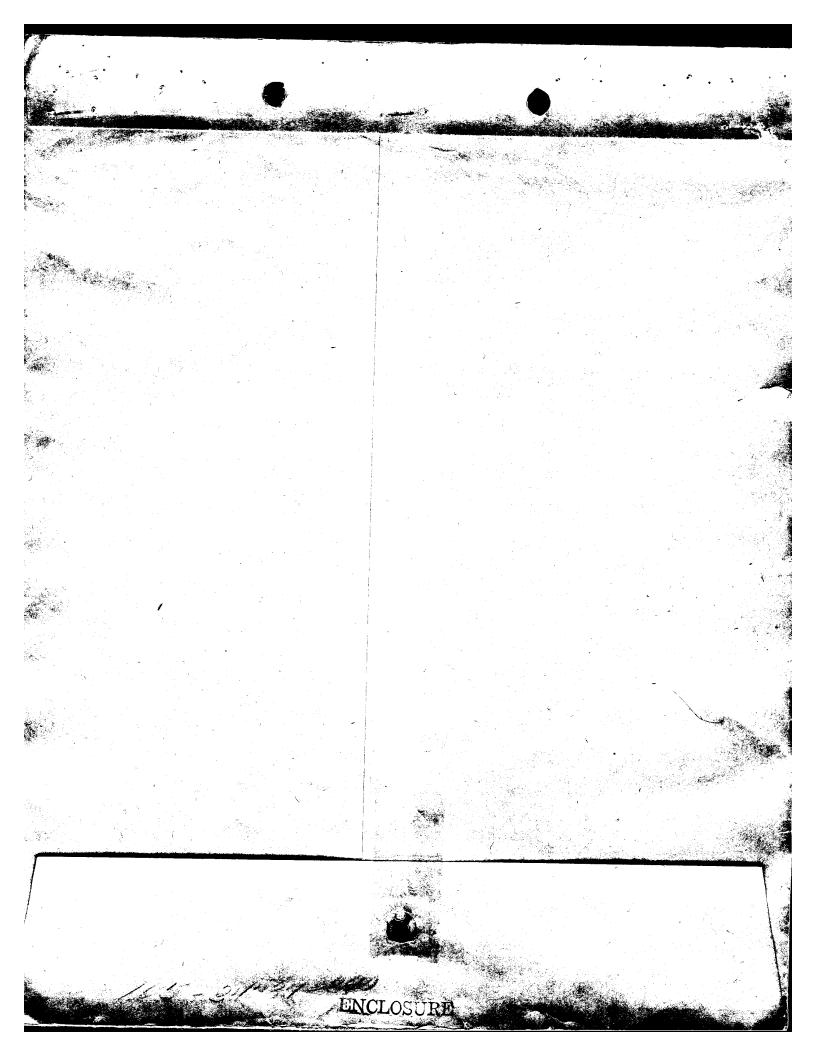
Hoover points out that at a 1957 Prayer Pilgand for Freedom in Mashington, the Party again tried to move in an exploit the MACP event as a rallying point for unity with the NAACP leaders publicly told the communists they were not and steps were taken to keep them off the platform."

In preparing our stories, and that is to give a factual account developments in the news. We have no axe to grind in our news continues, either for or against the NACP, integration or any other organisation or issue.

Very truly you

MEP: jp cc: Editor, Editorial Page, Richmond News Leader

> Robert B. Patterson Sec., Citisens' Council



THE UGLY TRUTH

ABOUT

THE NAACP



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED.
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/8/ BY JOBETHOE
AN ADDRESS BY

ATTORNEY GENERAL EUGENE COOK

OF GEORGIA

BEFORE THE

55th ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

OF GEORGIA

HELD IN ATLANTA

Biographical Sketch of

EUGENE COOK

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF GEORGIA

AB, LLB Magna Cum Laude (Mercer University, Macon, Georgia).

LLD (John Marshall Law School, Atlanta, Georgia).

Member, Commission on Uniform State Laws.

Member, Interstate Cooperation Commission.

Member, Interstate Oil Compact Commission.

Past President, National Association of Attorneys General.

Past Member, House of Delegates, American Bar Association.

Past Member, Board of Governors, Council of State Governments.

Past Deputy and District Governor, Lions International.

Past President, Mercer University Alumni Association.

Past Member, Board of Trustees, Mercer University.

Past Vice President, Georgia Baptist Sunday School Convention.

Honorary Member, Exchange Clubs of the United States.

Twice Delegate to National Democratic Convention.

State Offices (23 consecutive years):

Attorney General of Georgia (since August 22, 1945).

State Commissioner of Revenue.

Solicitor-General, Dublin Judicial Circuit (Georgia).

Solicitor and Judge, City Court of Wrightsville, Ga.

Born April 12, 1904, at Wrightsville, Johnson County, Ga., son of James Monroe and Ida (Preston) Cook, grandson of W. W. and Mary Ann (Smith) Cook and of Charles Thomas and Mary Elizabeth (Boswell) Preston. Married Julia Adelaide McClatchey, June 1928, daughter of the late H. R. and Mrs. McClatchey (graduate, Wesleyan College, Macon, Ga., Summa Cum Laude). Two sons, Eugene, Jr., and Charles McClatchey.

President Redding, Distinguished Guests and My Fellow Members of the Peace Officers Association of Georgia:

It is always a source of genuine personal satisfaction for me to have the opportunity of appearing before this group. Of all the organizations to which I have the privilege of belonging, none has accorded me a greater degree of support and cooperation than the Peace Officers Association of Georgia.

This rapport, I feel, is due principally to the fact that we share common professional objectives and personal convictions. As servants of our fellow citizens, we are made acutely aware of the grave responsibility inherent in protecting the rights and liberties of the people through vigorous and impartial enforcement of the law. As individuals charged with this solemn duty, we are able to see more clearly than others the threat to those rights and liberties posed by those who would substitute government by men for government by law.

It is because of your demonstrated discernment in this regard that I have chosen this occasion as the proper forum for revealing, for the first time, the authenticated details of the most ominous of these threats to arise during our lifetime. I refer to the subversive designs behind the current crusade of the misnamed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its fellow-traveling fronts to force upon the South the Communist-inspired doctrine of racial integration and amalgamation.

It shall be my purpose in this speech to totally disrobe the NAACP and to present this sinister and subtle organization in all its nakedness.

The ugly truth about the NAACP and its origin, aims and manipulators is so shocking as to stagger the imagination, but it is borne out by incontrovertible facts which can be established as matters of official record. These facts have been uncovered, checked, assembled and correlated through many weeks of intensive investigation and cooperative fort by my Staff and the Staffs of Congressman names C. Davis of Georgia and Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi.

I am prepared to prove everything I shall say. And I wish to state for the benefit of those who undoubtedly will attempt to smear me and dis-s a credit my findings and conclusions that I would welcome the opportunity to present the evidence I have in hand for determination before a trial jury in a court of law.

At the outset I wish to make it clear that the issue involved is one not of race but rather of subversion. None of the organizations which have exploited the race issue in this country has ever had the welfare of the negro people at heart. They have seized upon this issue as a convenient front for their more nefarious activities and as one with which they could dupe naive do-gooders, fuzzy-minded intellectuals, misguided clergymen and radical journalists to be their pawns.

The record shows that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was neither founded nor is presently directed by colored people. It was originated in New York City 46 years ago as the brain child of a Southern scallawag journalist and Russian-trained revolutionary named William E. Walling. Its principal personalities during its early years were descendants of the rabble-rousing abolitionists who fomented the strife which precipitated the War Between the States, a conflict which could have been avoided but for the activities of those abolitionists.

Of its five founders only one was a negro—a Communist-sympathizing lawyer named W. E. B. DuBois whose record of participation in Communist, Communist-front and subversive organizations and activities taken from the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives requires eight pages of single-spaced typewritten copy to outline. Among his more recent activities of this nature was the donation of his services in the preparation of legal briefs defending since-executed Communist spies Julius and Ethyl Rosenberg and the imprisoned leaders of the Communist Party of the United States. In 1953 he was awarded the International Peace Prize by the "Communist front" World Peace Council in recognition of his participation in the sponsorship of the series of Communist-dominated World Peace Conferences held since 1949 in an attempt to undermine the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. NAACP until 1949 and now is referred to by its officers and members as the organization's "Honorary Chairman."

In addition to Walling and DuBois, the other NAACP founders—all white—were Dr. Henry Moskowitz; Socialist Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison; and Miss Mary Ovington White, also a descendant of an old-time abolitionist. The first president of the Association was a white Boston lawyer, Moorfield Storey, who was identified in his youth with the abolitionist movement and who served as secretary to the original race-baiter, Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner.

From that day to this, South-hating white people with long records of affinity for, affiliation with, and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling and subversive organizations, activities and causes have directed and subsidized the NAACP. Its present president, Arthur B. Spingarn of New York City, is a white man as are a large number of the current officers, directors and principal contributors.

The files of the House Un-American Activities Committee reveal records of affiliation with or participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling or subversive organizations or activities on the part of the following present officials of the NAACP—the President, the Chairman of the Board, the "Honorary Chairman," 11 of 28 Vice Presidents, the Treasurer, 28 of 47 Directors, the Chairman of the National Legal Committee, the Executive Secretary, the Special Counsel, the Assistant Special Counsel, the Southeast Regional Secretary, the West Coast Secretary, the Director of the Washington Bureau, the Director of Public Relations and two Field Secretaries.

The transcript of this evidence numbers 121 pages of single-spaced, typewritten copy and would require more than six hours to be read aloud. Time being a factor, it is impossible to present all of this material; but, to give you an idea of the backgrounds and ideologies of the policy-making officials and personnel of the NAACP, I shall cite chapter and verse on the activities of this organization's principal personalities.

(The designations which I shall use in describing the organizations and activities with which these individuals have been identified are those applied to them by the Attorney General of the United States, the House Un-American Activities Committee or the Special House Un-American Activities Committee.)

President Spingarn was a participant in the Conference on Africa held April 14, 1944, in New York City by the "subversive and Communist" Council on African Affairs. In 1945 and 1946 he signed statements favoring the granting of Army commissions to Communists and opposing the use of injunctions in labor disputes sponsored by the "viciously subversive" National Federation of Constitutional Liberties. He is listed as a sponsor of the "Communist front" Public Use of Arts Committee.

Board Chairman Channing H. Tobias was a member of the Executive Board and Co-Chairman of the New York Committee of the "Communist front" Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was charged in 1947 with "serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States." He belonged, prior to 1949, to the "subversive and Communist" Council on African Affairs and was a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of the "Protestant Digest"—a magazine which "has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line." He sponsored the "subversive and Communist" People's Institute of Applied Religion and the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief and was a member of the Executive Board of the American League for Peace and Democracy, "the largest of the Communist-front movements in the United States." He has sponsored conferences and activities of the "viciously subversive" National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the "Communist front" New York State Conference on National Unity and the "subversive and Communist" American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and the National Committee to Win the Peace.

Roy Wilkins—successor to the late Walter White as NAACP Executive Secretary—was quoted on June 17, 1936, by the New York Daily Worker, the official publication of the Communist Party in this country, as attaching "greatest significance" to the 1936 National Communist Party Convention and stating that the Communist Party's racial

program had had "a very wholesome effect" in the United States. He was further quoted by the Daily Worker on July 15; 1949, as boasting that he had voted in New York City elections that year for since-convicted Negro Communist Benjamin J. Davis. He is listed as a member of the National Committee of the "Communist front" International Juridical Association which has "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line." He was a sponsor of the "subversive and Communist" Conference on Pan American Democracy, and of a joint meeting in 1937 of the "subversive and Communist" American League Against War and Fascism and the "Communist front" American Friends of the Chinese People. He has spoken for the "subversive and Communist" International Labor Defense and the Workers' Alliance, the former of which is regarded as the "legal arm of the Communist Party" in this country.

Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall-the negro lawyer responsible for the NAACP's court attacks upon segregation in the public schools-as late as 1950 was a member of the Executive Board of the "Communist front" National Lawyers Guild which has been described as "the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions." Since its inception, the Guild "has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents." And, as a member and policy-making official of this Communist Front, Marshall has served as Associate Editor of the "Lawyers Guild Review" and has criticized this nation's loyalty program. He also is listed as a member of the National Committee of the "Communist front" International Juridical Association which has "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line." And he was among a group of attorneys who, in 1947, protested the issuance of contempt citations against pro-Communist Hollywood writers who refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, Clarence M. Mitchell, protested against being asked whether he was or ever had been a member of the Communist Party at a hearing on pro-

posed legislation to outlaw the Communist Party be held before the House Un-American Activities Committee on May 3, 1950. Although he stoutly denied being a Communist, he was quoted as saying that such a question was "unfair" because it "immediately precludes from appearing before this Committee many of the people who would be on trial under a bill of this kind." The transcript further quoted him as saying that: "Presumably there are people who may, for sincere and personal reasons, wish to be members of the Communist Party. They may want to come here and object to this bill, but, I suppose, if they had to answer that question, they very likely would not come."

Director of Public Relations Henry Lee Moon, the Association's propaganda chief, is listed as a member of the "subversive and Communist" Washington Book Shop and the likewise-designated National Negro Congress which is "the Communist-front movement in the United States among negroes." His book, "Balance of Power: The Negro Vote," was praised by the Daily Worker and he was listed in 1949 as a nominee to be commentator for the "subversive and Communist" Voice of Freedom Committee.

Of the NAACP's 28 Vice Presidents, the following 11 have records of Un-American activities:

John Haynes Holmes, 23 citations; A. Philip Randolph, 20 citations; the late Mary McLeod Bethune (who still is listed as a vice president) and William Lloyd Imes, 16 citations each; Oscar Hammerstein, II, the composer, and Bishop W. J. Walls, seven citations each; Ira W. Jayne and L. Pearl Mitchell, two citations each; and Willard S. Townsend, T. G. Nutter and Grace B. Fenderson, one citation each.

Of the 47 members comprising the Association's Board of Directors, the following 28 have records of the Un-American activities:

Earl B. Dickerson, 25 citations; Algernon D. Black, 18 citations; Lewis Gannett, 15 citations; Roscoe Dunjee, 13 citations; S. Ralph Harlow and Chairman Channing H. Tobias, 10 citations each; William H. Hastie, nine citations; Hubert T. Delaney, eight citations; Benjamin E. Mays, president of Atlanta's Morehouse College, six citations; Robert G. Weaver, five citations; Buell G. Gallagher, four citations; President Arthur B. Spingarn, Earl

G. Harrison, James J. McClendon, Ralph Bunche, Allen Knight Chalmers and W. Montague Cobb, three citations each; J. M. Tinsley, Wesley W. Law of Savannah, Ga., Norman Cousins, Z. Alexander Looby, Harry J. Greene and Alfred Baker Lewis, two citations each; and H. Claude Hudson, Carl R. Johnson, A. Maceo Smith, James Hinton and Theodore M. Berry, one citation each.

Two other Vice Presidents and three other Directors are well-known apologists for left-wing causes. The two Vice Presidents are Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon and Eric Johnston of the Motion Picture Industry. The three Directors are Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, CIO President Walter Reuther and Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York.

Other officers of the NAACP with Un-American activity records are:

Lloyd Garrison, chairman, National Legal Committee, five citations; Treasurer Allan Knight Chalmers and Branch Department Director Gloster B. Current, three citations each; Southeast Regional Secretary Ruby Hurley, West Coast Regional Secretary Franklin H. Williams, Field Secretary Madison S. Jones and Assistant Special Counsel Robert L. Carter, two citations each; and Field Secretary Tarea Hall Pittman, one citation.

But of all the NAACP officials and policy-makers listed in the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee, none has a record as notorious as that of W. E. B. DuBois to whom I have previously referred as one of the founders and present "Honorary Chairman" of the Association. No less than 72 citations of Communist, Communist-front and subversive activity are entered against his name—the latest of which was the statement he issued upon the death of Joseph Stalin reading: "Let all negroes, Jews and foreign-born who have suffered in America from prejudice and intolerance, remember Joseph Stalin."

Yet this same W. E. B. DuBois was one of the "modern scientific authorities" whose writings were accepted by the United States Supreme Court as the basis for its decision of May 17, 1954, prohibiting segregation in the public schools. DuBois contributed to 82 different portions of the book, "An American Dilemma," which was cited in its

entirety by the Supreme Court as an authority for serits ruling.

And, speaking of that decision, let me emphasize in passing that 15 other contributors to "An American Dilemma" also have lengthy records of pro-Communist activity in the files of the Un-American Activities Committee. The same thing is true of two of the six individual authorities cited by the High Court—Theodore Brameld and E. Franklin Frazier—who between them have been members of or identified with 28 organizations declared to be Communist, Communist fronts or Communist dominated.

Another of the six individual authorities cited by the Supreme Court—K. B. Clark—was, at the time of the arguments before the Court, on the payroll of the NAACP as a so-called "social-science expert."

These records of individual officials and members of the NAACP are not the only source of proof of the subversive influences on and in that organization.

Elizabeth Dilling reported in her book, "The Red Network," that, during the seven years from 1923 to 1930, the NAACP received some \$43,000 from the radical Garland Fund among whose directors were Communists William Z. Foster and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. She also disclosed that the official report of the Fourth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States held in 1925 stated that "the Party had penetrated the NAACP."

Official records show that the NAACP has consistently affiliated itself with Communist and left-wing movements.

It was a member of the American Youth for a Free World which was organized in 1942 and, in 1948, was described by the California Un-American Activities Committee as "heavily infiltrated and effectively dominated by the Communist Party." The House Un-American Activities Committee in its 1951 Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications described the AYFW as "a Communist clearing house."

In 1945, the NAACP sent its Branch Department Director, Gloster Current, to London as an official delegate representing the Association at the founding of the World Federation of Democratic

Youth. This Federation was cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948 as "part of the Communist International 'solar system.'"

A report made at a meeting of the Communist Party of the United States on July 16, 1946, showed that the NAACP was one of a group of left-wing organizations invited by the National Committee of the Communist Party to a meeting held in Chicago to form a "third party." That report, as detailed on pages 150-151 of the 1947 Report of the House Un-American Activities Committee, lists the NAACP as an active participant in the conference at which the Progressive Citizens of America was formed.

And earlier this month, according to the United Press, the NAACP picketed a hearing on Communist propaganda conducted in Chicago by Senator Eastland for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

A pamphlet outlining the Program of the Communist Party of the United States, published in September 1954 by New Century Publishers of New York City, made specific reference on Page 22 to a link between the Communist Party and the NAACP. It stated:

"We call upon wage workers, working farmers, the Negro people, small business and professional people, upon the women and the youth, to join hands in a common fight . . . for the democratic demands of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Former Negro Communist Foster Williams, Jr., testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee about this matter on June 17, 1954, in Seattle, Wash. He said:

"The Communist Party very sneakily manipulates the negro people for their own purposes . . . The NAACP has had this trouble."

The racial aims of the Communist Party of the United States and those of the NAACP are virtually identical. The Communist program, as reported in the May 26, 1928, issue of the Daily Worker, calls for:

"Full racial equality.

"Abolition of all laws which result in segregation of negroes. "Abolition of laws forbidding intermarriage of persons of different races.

"Abolition of all laws and públic administration measures which prohibit, or in practice prevent, negro children from attending general public schools or universities.

"Full and equal admittance of negroes to all waiting rooms, restaurants, hotels and theaters."

Those are the identical demands being made today, 27 years later, by the NAACP.

On the basis of the evidence now in hand—a minute portion of which I have related to you this afternoon—no other conclusion can be drawn but that the NAACP is being used as a front and tool by subversive elements in this country. Either knowingly or unwittingly, it has allowed itself to become part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to overthrow the democratic governments of this nation and its sovereign states.

Through its activities, the NAACP is fomenting strife and discord between the white and negro races in the South and is disrupting relations between these races which heretofore have been—and at present are—harmonious and friendly in every respect. These activities, carried to their ultimate conclusion, can only result in conflict, bloodshed and internal revolution, delivering this nation into the hands of international Communism.

The NAACP is being aided and abetted in its agitation by three "front" organizations on the Southern scene—the Southern Conference Education Fund; the Southern Regional Council; and the SRC's affiliate, the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Southern Conference Education Fund and the Southern Regional Council are both dominated by individuals who, like the officials of the NAACP, have long records of affinity for and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling, left-wing and subversive organizations and activities. Sworn testimony taken by both House and Senate Committees has placed known Communists in both organizations and the Southern Conference Education Fund may soon be designated a subversive organization.

The Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation is a perfect example of an organization formed for the purpose of exploiting the names, reputations and services of well-intentioned dogooders. It is composed of some of Georgia's most distinguished clergymen and most prominent civic and social leaders who have been duped into doing the bidding of the more sinister elements manipulating the Southern Regional Council.

Investigations currently are being made of all three organizations—the results of which will greatly embarrass those good citizens who unwittingly have become involved in their activities. I urge all such persons to take immediate steps to disassociate themselves from these groups and to disavow their programs and leaders before they, their friends and their congregations are exposed to the anguish and embarrassment which exposure of these groups will necessarily mean.

The activities of the NAACP and its local fronts pose a serious threat to the peace, tranquillity, government and way of life of our State. And for that reason it is my intention to present the evidence which already has been, and currently is being, compiled about the subversive nature of these activities to the 1956 session of the General Assembly of Georgia convening next January for appropriate action by the elected representatives of the people of this State.

In the meantime I pledge the full resources of my office to the enforcement of all existing State laws and constitutional provisions relating to subversive activities and our traditional pattern of race relations. And, toward that end, I solicit—and know I can count on the full support and cooperation of you, the peace officers of Georgia.

I thank you.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

WRITE TO THE

EDUCATIONAL FUND OF THE

CITIZENS' COUNCILS

GREENWOOD, MISS.

READ AND PASS ON



WE NEED YOUR HELP

We hope you can make a contribution to the Educational Fund which will be used to

- Publish and distribute nationwide factual literature presenting the case for states' rights and racial integrity.
- (2) Initiate a movement to enter the national propaganda media such as the national press services, television, radio, national publications and the motion picture industry.

Our auditors believe contributions will be deductible from your income tax. Every effort will be made to get this tax-free status, and we believe these efforts will be successful.

b6 b7C

SAC, Charlotte

61

April 8, 1958

Director, FBI (105-34237)

CITIZENS COUNCILS INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Bufiles fail to reflect receipt of letter from your office in captioned matter which was due at the Bureau March 25, 1958.

Sulet immediately. In the future submit letters in time to meet Buded.

REC-28 /35-3435/-39 EX-135 APR 9 1958

APR - 8 1958

105-34237-392 IN THIS FILE SKIPPED DURING SERIALIZATION.

NL 3 1958

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fice Memorandum • United States Government : A. H. Belmont DATE: April 9, 1958 FROM: F. J. Baumgardner Tolson Nichors Beardman . Belmont . Mohr -🧷 Parsons CITIZENS COUNCILS-SUBJECT: Rosen! INFORMANT COVERAGE Tamm INTERNAL SECURITY - X At a conference on 10/7/57 then Attorney **∳**ffolloman ¥ General Brownell stated that in view of the Little Rock situation and the fact that a number of the principal disturbers of the peace there were members of citizens councils, he believed the Bureau should byc take steps to attain necessary coverage, including informants, in citizens councils but should exercise such coverage with utmost dis On 10/9/57 the field was issued instructions concerning development of coverage in these groups. Results of Program To date the 18 offices covering activities of citizens councils have submitted requests for authority to interview individuals for the purpose of developing them as sources in these organizations. Of this number requests have been approved and denied by the Bureau., Of those contacted, have been cooperative and have expressed a willingness to furnish the Bureau information concerning violations of laws within the Bureau's jurisdiction or information concerning possible acts of violence should councils engage in such. Four persons contacted have been uncooperative. There are interviews pending. Responsibility has been placed on each field office for obtaining coverage necessary for the Bureau to obtain desired information concerning these organizations when we must have such information that is when incidents similar to Little Rock situation arise. Each office has a different problem in that in some states there are numerous councils which are extremely active while in other states there are a few inactive groups. Thus, there is considerable variation in the number of sources developed in the different offices as indicated below. These figures represent the individuals who have been contacted and who were cooperative. 105-34237 REC- 65/03-21/2/-393 1 - Mr. Belmont 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont Re: Citizens Councils 105-34237

Atlanta
Baltimore
Birmingham
Dallas
Detroit
Houston
Jacksonville
Knoxville
Little Rock

Louisville
Memphis
Miami
Mobile
New Orleans
Norfolk
Richmond
Savannah
Washington Field

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ACTION:

The above is submitted to acquaint you with the results of this program to date. We will continue to develop sources within these groups; however, due to the highly sensitive nature of these interviews we are proceeding cautiously and are being very selective in authorizing contacts.

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO :L. V. Boardman DATE: April 14, 1958 FROM : A. H. Belmont SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS - GENEROL INFORMANT COVERAGE INTERNAL SECURITY - X On 10/9/57 pursuant to request of then Attorney General Brownell, the Bureau initiated a program for developing coverage in citizens councils for the purpose of securing information concerning violations of laws within the Bureau's jurisdiction or information concerning acts of violence in which these councils might engage. individuals have been contacted and have expressed a willingness to cooperate in this regard. We need additional coverage in these councils. The Bureau is also developing informants and sources in Klan organizations. At the present time there are Klan informants or potential informants. Klans and citizens councils have a similar purpose, namely, the maintenance of segregation, and it is not inconsistent for an individual to belong to both types of organizations. **OBSERVATIONS:** Some offices through careful analysis of the character and qualifications of certain Klan informants have successfully used these informants for the dual purpose of reporting on citizens councils as well 🤉 There are | informants now being used in this manner. We have an additional | informants in Klan matters which is a ready field for the development of additional sources in councils. The development of coverage in these organizations is potentially dangerous from the standpoint of adverse publicity to the Bureau. By utilizing selected Klan informants whose backgrounds are known and whose reliability has been established we can obtain more comprehensive coverage, make more use of present informants, and minimize the possibility of criticism of the Bureau? Some informants reporting on Klan matters have backgrounds which rely satisfactory for membership in a Klan organization would unsuitable for citizens council membership. Therefore, we are the field to be selective in determining which Klan informants while entirely satisfactory for membership in a Klan organization would make them unsuitable for citizens council membership. Therefore, we are instructing the field to be selective in determining which Klan informants should be approached concerning our council coverage. No contacts will be made with the informants selected without prior Bureau authority. Enclosure sout 4-15-58 REC- 62 105-34237-394 105-34237 [1 and age 7 16 APR 4-18-57 1 - Mr. Boardman 1 - Mr. Belmont 16 APR 17 1958 CFW:dlh

(4)

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman Re: Citizens Councils Informant Coverage 105-34237

RECOMMENDATION:

There is attached for your approval the yellow file copy of a letter to Atlanta, copies to other offices, the original of which is on plastiplate, instructing those offices in line with the above.

and the

of)

Mr. Boardman Mr. Belmont

RAC, Atlanta

April 15, 1958

Director, FDI (105 - 34237)

REC-62

CITIZENS COUNCILS INTERNAL SECURITY - X

ReDelet October 9, 1957, instituting a program for development of coverage in citizens councils.

The Bureau again desires to emphasize the necessity for developing coverage in especies prior to the time regial difficulties may arise in order that we may discharge our responsibilities. Your consideration in this regard should not be confined to possible trouble due to integration is acheels but should encompase the entire field of racial relations wherein ocupails could become involved.

Results of the program of developing coverage to date reveal that the offices receiving sepies of this letter are utilizing a total of paly 12 Klan informants and petential informants as sources in citizens commuils. The same offices have approximately 125 informatts and potential informats in Elan matters. Since Klama and citizens councils both faver segregation it would met be inconsistent for an individual to belong to both types of organizations.

In order to supplement present coverage in councils each office is instructed to review information available regarding all informante and Bureau approved petential informants now being used in connection with Klan organisations to determine which are suitable for membership in citizens councils. This determination will have to be made on an individual basis keeping in mind the background and character of the informat and weighing such information against the type of individuals who are members of the council on which the thermant may be in My Myer a position to furnish information

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- Charlette

- Dallas

- Jacksonville

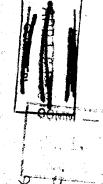
- Knoxville

Savannah

CFW:d1h NOTE ON YELLOW: See memo Belmont to Boardman, 4/14/58 CDW:dlh, captioned "Citizens Councils Informant

rogram, Internal Security - X." (27)ORIGINAL ON PLASTIFIC

50 APR 21 1958



Nichols Boardman Belmont.

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MAIL ROOM

SAC, Atlanta Re: Citizens Councils 105-34237

Furnish the Bureau by May 3, 1958, results of your determinations. Submit fellowing information:

- (1) Name or symbol number of informant and reasons why he should or should not be contacted relative to citizens councils. Sufficient data must be included for the Bureau to make a decision in each case.
- (2) Name of council or councils with which informant with whom contact is recommended may become affiliated.

No informants are to be contacted without prior Bureau authority.

STAÑDARD FORM AO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 4/24/58

FROM

SAC, JACKSONVILLE (105-22)

SUBJECT:

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS'
COUNCILS OF FLORIDA
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

ReMMlet to Bureau, 1/10/58, with enclosures.

advised on 4/14/58 that a State Meeting of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Florida was held in the Labor Union Hall, 920 Main Street, Jacksonville, Fla., commencing at 10:00 A.M., Sunday, 4/13/58. There were some 45 people in attendance from 13 counties.

Reverend GEORGE DOWNS, of Orlando, a member who addressed the group, asked that everyone in attendance contact the advertisers in their local newspapers and request the newspapers to carry the true story of the results of the Florida Legislative Investigating Committee hearings.

A Mrs. BREWINGTON, of Pensacola, Fla., was suggested as a delegate to attend a meeting of the Congress for Freedom to be held in May in Kansas City, Missouri. Mrs. BREWINGTON told those present that the program at Kansas City had already been arranged and that it was, therefore, doubtful that she would be permitted to speak and, accordingly, these plans were tabled.

Mrs. J. L. STOUDENMIRE, of Jacksonville, was the presiding chairman of the meeting.

It was announced that the next State Meeting of the group would be held at the Town Hall in Umatilla, Fla., at 10:00 A.M. the first Sunday in May, after which there would be a fish fry at the ranch of SAM BRYANT just out of Umatilla, Fla.

(2) - Bureau (R) 2 - Miami (100 8 - Jacksonvi	0-13407) (RM) / \\ \frac{1}{2} \\ \f	ļ
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	Tallahassee, Fla.	
	(FNU) who is from Chattahoochee, Fla.	
	C. S. BRYANT, who is from Umatilla, Fla., and	
	honorary Deputy Sheriff, Lake County, Fla.	
_		b(
	honorary Deputy Sheriff, Lake County, Fla.	b6 b7
[honorary Deputy Sheriff, Lake County, Fla. (FNU) who is from Live Oak, Fla.	

The above is being furnished for the information of the Bureau and Miami and the Bureau will be kept advised of any unusual developments.

ice Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT : Director, FBI (105-34237) TO DATE: April 25, 1958 AC. Memphis (105-121) FROM: SUBJECT: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI Enclosed herewith are five copies of a memorandum dated April 25, 1958, captioned as above, as well as five copies of a memorandum setting out the reliability of informants utilized. The informants referred to therein are as follows: T-1: who volunteered the reported information to SA GEORGE A. EVERETT on April 17, 1958. For the Bureau's information, this appears to indicate b6 SA EVERETT. b7C b7D T-2:1 He was interviewed by SA THOMAS S. HOPKINS on April 19, 1958. T-3: who volunteered information to SA EVERETT. A copy of this communication is furnished the New Orleans Office for information. Copies of the memorandum are also being furnished local intelligence agencies. 2- Bureau (105-34237) (encl.#10) RM 1- New Orleans (encl.-2) (info) RM b2 <u>(encar.-2)(Ra</u>cial Situation in Miss.) 1- Memphis (100-3553) b6 b7C 1- Memphis (encl.-2) 1- Memphis (105-121) JHK:FJ (6)

REC. 85

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United States Department of Instice

Hederal Eurean of Investigation Memphis, Tennessee April 25, 1958

Re: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

On April 12, 1958, Memphis Confidential Informant T-1, an individual who is familiar with certain activities of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, and of the activities of ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Executive Secretary of the Council, Greenwood, Mississippi, furnished the following information:

This individual stated that at	
it was decided that in the future	
officials of the ACCM would be courteous and friendly with FBI	•
Agents but would tell them nothing more about Citizen Council	
activity. This individual stated that it was the views of	
and others that the Federal Government now knows enough	•
about the Citizens Council to be fully aware of the motives,	:
problems and organizational structure. This individual further	
stated that notwithstanding this decision, that person-	· .
ally would not knowingly withhold information relating to a	
violation of the law.	
	b7D
This individual further stated that is	שוש
convinced the Federal Government as a whole is not concerned	
with the welfare of the Negro but that the entire problem of	
integration is one big political promotion in which the Republicar	าร
and Democrats have been taken in by the National Association for	
the Advancement of Colored People, and that both parties and the	
NAACP are pushing this country into turmoil both in the North and	•
the South. Informant stated further that feels the	
whole matter of integration is Communist inspired and is part of	•
a long standing Communist plot to embroil the races in strife and	
and thereby disrupt the government.	
0. 4. 47 70 7050 14	
On April 19, 1958, Memphis Confidential Informant	. •
T-2, who is also familiar with certain activities of the ACCM,	,
advised that about three weeks ago at Jackson, Mississippi a	
meeting was held comprised primarily of attorneys in Mississippi	
who are interested in the <u>Citizens Council. This informant stated</u>	l b6

COPIES DESTROYED 479 MAY 10 1972

4-25-58

Re: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

Mississippi, to the effect that members of the Citizens Councils furnish no information to FBI Agents regarding activities of the Councils. Informant further stated that an argument was made against this motion by one of the attorneys present, who stated he could not agree with the proposal and that there was no conflict of interest between the FBI and the Councils in Mississippi.

On April 4, 1958, Memphis Confidential Informant T-3. an individual who described himself as being a "dedicated segregationist," advised that the Citizens Council movement in Mississippi has been hurt by the action of some of its leaders in recent weeks. This individual advised that one instance of this was the large amount of publicity in the controversy between the ACCM and the Methodist Church regarding Millsaps College in Jackson, Mississippi. This individual noted that at least one member of the Executive Board of the college had advised that he would no longer support the Citizens Council but would do nothing to harm the Council movement because of his strong feelings on the subject of segregation. This informant also noted that a bill in the Mississippi State Legislature to permit the donation of public funds to the Citizens Councils had also in his opinion hurt the councils. This informant stated he believed this bill, if passed by the Legislature, would ultimately destroy the Citizens Councils in the

Statement memo asked with the state put asked with the



United States Department of Instice Federal Bureau of Investigation Memphis, Tennessee April 25, 1958

Re: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

T-1, T-2 and T-3, mentioned in the memorandum dated April 25, 1958 in captioned matter, have furnished reliable information in the past.

This is furnished for your information and should not be disseminated to unauthorized persons or agencies.

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ENCLOSURE 342

Assistant Attorney General W. Wilson White

May 5, 1958

Director, PBI

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI INTERNAL SECURITY - X

There is being furnished you herewith for your information a copy of a memorandum dated April 25, 1958, prepared by the Memphis Office of this Bureau concerning the captioned matter.

Enclosure

105-34237-30

REC-33

2 - SAC, New Orleans

2 - SAC, Memphis (105-121)

ATTENTION SACS, NEW ORLEANS AND MEMPHIS:

Re Memphis let April 25, 1958, a copy of which was furnished New Orleans.

In view of the contents of the letterhead memorandum submitted with relet both Memphis and New Orleans in the future are instructed to be even more selective than in the past in submitting recommendations for interviews with members of captioned council relative to the development of sources.

Wherever possible you should confine your selections to those individuals who have been cooperative with the Bureau in the past concerning councils or other matters or those about whom there is information indicating they will be receptive if contacted.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Information in letterhead memorandum reveals members of captioned organization feel Federal Government now knows enough about citizens councils to be fully aware of its motives, problems and organizational structure, and, therefore, officials of the organization will not furnish to the FBL information about the organization in the future 500 pm at

CFW:d1h

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105-34237-398
CHANGED TO

105-34237-29-22

MAY 13 1958

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SAC, Dallas

May 14, 1958

Director, FBI (105-34237)

CITIZENS COUNCILS - 6-

ReBulet to Atlanta, copies to your office, dated April 15, 1958.

Bufiles fail to reflect receipt of information requested in reBulet. Sulet immediately.

EX - 151 23 MAY 15 1958

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Office Ivient		VIIID UIZIIDO		LIVI
то : F. J. Baum	gardner	DATE:	May 13, 19	58
INFORMANT	OUNCILS - George COVERAGE ECURITY - X		b6 b7C	Tolson
	et forth below for ted 10/9/57 at the	request of the A	Attorney Ger	eral
Number of Individuals				
Number Cooperative up	on Contact			
Number Uncooperative	upon Contact			
Interviews Pending			,	
Authority to Contact	Denied			b7D
The second who were cooperative involved in this prog				
Atlanta Baltimore Birmingham Dallas Detroit Houston Jacksonville Knoxville Little Rock	Louisvi Memphis Miami Mobile New Orl Norfolk Richmon Savanna Washing	eans		B
utilization of Klan i with coverage of citi still pending in some	zens councils. Det offices; however, <u>Klan informant</u> s or	tial informants erminations in t for your informa	in connecti this regard ation as of	are 5/1/58
105-34237 1 - Mr. Baumgardner 1 -	त्तर गुज	105-30 88 MAY I	1237-4 5 1958	b6 b7c,
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50 MAY 20 1958	, - 		5-	and the second

Memorandum for Mr. Baumgardner Re: Citizens Councils Informant Coverage 105-34237

ACTION:

The development of sources in these groups will be followed closely with the field.



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BA 100-20576

	contacted 5/9/58. all of whom have had limited association with over a period of years.
(6)	Baltimore files do not contain any information which would make a contact with inadvisable.
(7)	It is recommended be interviewed to ascertain his knowledge of captioned organization and of anything which might result in violence in connection with integration. has advised that captioned organization purchased a building on Glen Avenue extended, Salisbury, to use for meetings, however, he advised this building is now listed for sale and inferred the individuals selling it might keep the money for their own use. It would appear is in a position to be an excellent source of information, even if he is not a member of captioned group.
	nformation of the Bureau, a check with the
	Police Department and Maryland State Police,
	. Salisbury, Maryland, reflected no arrest record
for	Del-Mar-Va Cred <u>it</u>
	alisbury, previously mentioned, considers
to have a	satisfactory credit reputation.

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JUN 2 1958

F-138

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

14

Office Memorandum • United States Government

то	:	DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237) DATE: 5/23/58
FROM	: Not in	SAC, WFO (100-33226)
su BJE C	CT:	CITIZENS COUNCILS IS - X
	to instit Citizens problems.	ReBulet to Atlanta, 10/9/57, instructing offices ute a program toward development of coverage in Councils where trouble might arise due to integration
	within it	This office has the White Citizens Councils, of D. C. s territory.
		I. STEPS TAKEN TO INSURE SUCCESS OF PROGRAM
	this prog	Two persons are presently being considered under bf b70 and b71
		has been interviewed and appears both to be ve and to have a good potential for development information.
	of this o	has recently b
[or this o	b b
ľ		A letter requesting permission to interview her
	has been	sent to the Bureau under separate caption.
	has been	sent to the Bureau under separate caption. II. STEPS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT AND EXPAND PROGRAM
	to develo	II. STEPS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT AND EXPAND PROGRAM This office is at present concentrating efforts \(\subseteq \begin{align*} \sigma^{\beta 6} \end{align*}
	to develor investigation will be determined the activate activate.	This office is at present concentrating efforts p and as sources. After tions and interviews are completed, further sources eveloped concerning activities of WCC. It is to be noted that has advised that ities of the WCC have slowed down almost to a
	to developing the active standstil - Bureau 1 - Richmel - WFO	This office is at present concentrating efforts p and as sources. After tions and interviews are completed, further sources eveloped concerning activities of WCC. It is to be noted that has advised that ities of the WCC have slowed down almost to a l in this area. REC-74/03-34-31
	to develor investiga will be do the activ standstil	II. STEPS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT AND EXPAND PROGRAM This office is at present concentrating efforts p and as sources. After tions and interviews are completed, further sources eveloped concerning activities of WCC. It is to be noted that has advised that ities of the WCC have slowed down almost to a l in this area. REC-74/05-34-1

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WFO 100-33226

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III. RESULTS ACHIEVED UNDER THE PROGRAM

This office has an excellent source of information in _____ It is believed that through development of _____ this office will have excellent coverage on future activities of the White Citizens Councils.

Office Memorandum · United States Government

TO

Dimector, FBI (105-34,237)

DATE: May 31, 1958

FROM

SAC, Little Rock (105-170)

SUBJECT

CITIZENS COUNCILS OF AMERICA ARKANSAS DIVISION, aka IS-X

Remylet, 3/28/58.

No information has come to the attention of the Little Rock Division that individuals highly placed in the Citizens Councils in Arkansas have continued to make speeches or any concerted effort to further organize Citizens Councils in Arkansas. It is pointed out that previous information has been received of the possibility that individual Citizens Councils might be in operation in various cities and counties in Arkansas, but discreet inquiry concerning each possible Council known has failed to develop that Citizens Councils are active other than in Pine Bluff and Little Rock, Arkansas. Individual files are maintained on the Capital Citizens Council, Little Rock, Arkansas, and the Citizens Council at Pine Bluff, and the Bureau is kept advised of the activities of these Councils.

The Bureau will be kept currently advised of any renewed activities of the Arkansas Division of the Citizens Councils of America. 26

TBW/gm (3)

50 JUN 13 1958

EX-130

who has furnished reliable in-

B JUN 4 1958

IN SEC.

Offic	e Memorand	um • 1	UNITED	STATES G	OVERNME	ENT
Д ^С то :	MR. BELMONT)		DATE:	6/12/58	
FROM :	L. V. BOARDMAN	>		,	·	Tolson Boardman Belmont Mohr Nease
SUBJECT:	WHITE CITIZENS CO	uncits	9000	REL		Parsons Rosen Tamm Trotter
	Today M letters authorizi with potential so Councils must be be guided accordi	ng the fie urces of i personally	eld to con nformatio	n in White	ceforth views Citizens	ClaytonTele. RoomHolloman
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Office Memorandum • United States Government

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a)	то :	Mr. Tolson		DATE:	June 4, 1958
		own The			Tolson Boardmin
	FROM:	G. A. Nease			Belmont Mohr
). 			Parsons Passon
	SUBJECT:	ALLEGATION			Tomm
VI.		INVESTIGATING INT NEWPORT NEWS, V	And the same of th		Clayton Tele. Room
20		MEWI OILL IND WO,			Holloman Gandy
31		For record purposes			a telephone call from
,	undorgtood	of the " <u>Times-Heral</u> c the FBI is investigating			
1 ✓)		er this is correct and w			
A.		re is absolutely no trut			
100		lating such a rumor, po			
7		riate action in interview g integration.			oment who might be
Č O	•	the rumor. He thought			9
60	jurisdiction	as such and he believed	l there is no truth to	the run	nor.
V)		told tha	t we, of course, do	have Ao	ents out conducting
色から	interviews e	every day relating to ma			
12)		of integration in the publ			
117	such.	stated he would be in rmation came to his atte		olk O ffi	ce in the event any
1	' -	i mation came to ms att	ention.		
6		SAC Hosteny of the 1			
)		d a call from con FBI Agents are not cond	ncerning this matter		told Hosteny to tell
		ols in that area. The m			
	agreed that	to answer with '	'no comment" would	leave th	ne door open to
		ting such a remark as t			
ļ		Mr. Hosteny stated th			viewed a woman named
,	William Co.	the previous day	y. It could be, said	Hosteny	, that the fact of this
/	interview ha	as come to the attention	of the press which	asinter	preted such interview
	as investiga	tion by the FBI into inte	egration in public sci	ر ، noois	my stronations
	- 5 +00	Hosteny was told tha			
	investigatin	g integration, it is fully	proper to simply st	ate that	we are not.
	ACTION:	For record purposes.	. ,	70	whatere
		V	NUL &B	T & 122	, the tocks?
	1 - Mr. Bel 1 - Mr. Jon	mont /	emen kij	AND -	1
	%	50.111N1 0 10R	À .«		I A . OTA
	REW:sak				and shall
	(4)	LA HAVE TORG		4 .	arant. Pri

ce Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT 1958 V. Boardman June/ A. H. Belmon SUBJECT: ALLEGATION FBI INVESTIGATING INTEGRATION NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA Nease Re memorandum Mr. Nease to Mr. Tólson 6/4/58 reflecting press inquiry received 5/29/58 as to whether Bureau is investigating Holloman integration in public schools. Re memorandum further reflected that in connection with Bureau's program relating to activities of citizens councils Bureau Agents had interviewed a woman named on 5/28/58. Mr. Tolson noted, "I thought we had stopped such investigation? What are the facts?" The Director added, "I would like to know. H. We are not now and have never investigated integration in public Of course, as in Hoxie and Little Rock, Arkansas, we have conducted investigation under specific statutes such as Contempt of Court and Civil Rights of matters which have arisen out of the school integration issue. As a result of the Supreme Court decision 5/17/54 re segregation

in the public schools, citizens councils began forming in July, 1954. We initiated limited inquiries re citizens councils to determine (1) whether their activities came within purview of Executive Order 10450; (2) extent of Klan infiltration of such organizations; (3) their potential for violence. The field was restricted in such inquiries to public source material and contacts with established sources. In addition, at the k specific request of the Department on 12/10/54, we conducted full investigations re the American States' Rights Association in Alabama and Vithe Association of Citizens Councils in Mississippi. In each instance () where inquiries conduc**t**ed, the results thereof were furnished to the Department for consideration under Executive Order 10450. In no instance did the Department indicate that any of these organizations in violation Executive Order 10450. As a result, by Bulet 12/13/56 the field was instructed to discontinue all inquiries re citizens councils and to follow the activities of such groups through the public press and information voluntarily furnished.

105- 34237-408 **REC- 42** During a conference with the Director re the Little Rock integration matter on 10/7/57, the Attorney General stated that in view of the involvement of citizens council members in disturbances at Little Rock he desired that the Bureau obtain coverage in citizens councils." By letter 10/9/57 the field was instructed to immediately institute a program to develop such coverage.**In this regard the field was specifically

- Mr. Boardman 1 - <u>Mr. Belmon</u>t

*Copy of Director's memo 10/7/57 attached.

**Copy of Bulet 10/9/57 attached.,

1 - Administrative Division JGK:d1h (5)

Memorandum for Nr. Boardman Re: Allegation FBI Investigating Integration

instructed that the Bureau was not investigating citizens councils; the coverage was desired for the sole purpose of gathering intelligence data in advance re indications citizens councils might engage in acts of violence or interfere with Federal court orders; that informants should be developed in areas where integration trouble might develop and not on a wholesale basis; that no unnecessary risks should be taken in the development of such informants; and individuals contacted under program should be specifically advised Bureau not interested in activities of citizens councils as such. Field was instructed to submit individual requests on each individual to be contacted under this program. These requests were to include data re background, membership in citizens council, trustworthiness and any information indicating contact might be inadvisable.

Inadvisable.	100 m
With regard to the interview of	by Bure au Agents, by
<u>letter 5/8/58 Norfolk requested authority to con</u>	ntact
Newport News, a housewife and	<u>الرائح</u>
formerly served as	
	he request was submitted 🐒 🦠
in accordance with Pureau instructions and Bufi	les and the files of the
Norfolk Office contained no information indicat	
inadvisable. Accordingly, authority granted No.	rfolk to contact
by Bulet 5/20/58. What was the specific	
contact given us b	morenes? 4
On 6/6/58 the Purpose contected ASAC To	Mallahan Nansalk Office
On 6/6/58 the Bureau contacted ASAC Jaconcerning the interview with and he ad	wiesd of College
concerning the interview with rand he ad	vised as rollows:
	and on
5/28/58. She was specifically advised the Bure	
the activities of citizens councils, appeared to	be cooperative and agreed
to keep the contact confidential. Following the	e inquiry on 5/29/58
by of the "Times Herald," Newport I	
managing editor of the same newspaper, contacted	i the Norfolk Office on
5/31/58. Bane stated that a reporter had learn	ed that Bureau Agents had
interviewed <u>regarding citizens councils</u>	activities and integration
in the public schools. He did not state whether	advised the
reporter of the interview or whether the reporte	
interview from someone in whom may have	confided. At any rate
there is no doubt that occasioned the in	nauiries from the press.
McMahon stated that development of sources in c	itizens councils is very
difficult due to the strong feelings of many ag	ainst integration of the
schools and on the racial issue in general. He	stated that Norfolk has made
every effort to select people whom they believe	will be connerative but
	her agreement to keep the
Bureau's contact confidential.	ner agreement to keep the
Datoad 3 contact constructivat.	
) and the same and the	
) many very prominent	

many very prominent citizens belong to these councils Memorandum for Mr. Boardman
Re: Allegation F3I Investigating Integration

Our program to develop sources in citizens councils continues at present and to date we have developed sources in these organizations. At this time it seems quite probable that there will be trouble in certain areas in the South when schools open this fall. Therefore, if we are to be in a position to obtain information concerning the trouble spots where difficulties may arise, it is necessary that we have informant coverage in citizens councils.

ACTION:

ASAC McMahon was instructed that the Bureau desires that Norfolk submit complete details re the interview of whether the interview was properly handled, explanations from the Agents who conducted the interview and a complete evaluation by the SAC, together with recommendations as to whether administrative action is warranted.

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Jens Lype of inguiry can get us into a lot of trouble. It must be most carefully supervised by sacs and at the Seat of Goit.

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Office Memoranaum • UNI	TED STATES GOVERNMENT
TO :F. J. Baumgardner	DATE: June 17, 1958
FROM	Tolson
SUBJECT: RESULTS OF ACITIZENS COUNCIL INFORMANT PROGRAM	Rosen b 6 Rosen b 7 Tamm Trotter Nease
Program for developing informations was instituted with Bulet October 9, 199 with Bulet June 13, 1958.	ants in citizens councils (Figlian Room -
There are set forth below for of the program during the period in which	
Number of Individuals Contacted	
Number Cooperative upon Contact	
Number Uncooperative upon Contact	. b7D
Authority denied to Contact	
Interviews Pending in the Field	
The second item above showing were cooperative upon contact is broken were involved in this program as follows	
Atlanta Baltimore Birmingham Charlotte Dallas Detroit Houston Jacksonville Knoxville Little Rock	Louisville Memphis Miami Mobile New Orleans Norfolk Richmond Savannah Washington Field
105-34237 1 - <u>Mr. Baumgardn</u> er 1 -	2 /05-3445/-409 3 JUN 19 1953 67c
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(3) F/3 ^L	Sem
5 7 JUN OS	

Memorandum for Mr. Baumgardner Re: Results of Citizens Council Informant Program 105-34237

By letter April 15, 1958, the field was instructed to consider utilization of Klan informants and Bureau-approved Klan PSIs in connection with coverage of these councils. As of the present time informants or potential informants who normally furnish information concerning Klan organizations have been contacted and are furnishing information concerning citizens councils. These were included in figures on page 1.

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ACTION:

In the letter to the field discontinuing the program the field was instructed that it still has the responsibility of obtaining information concerning contemplated acts of violence in connection with the segregation issue and plans for action violative of laws within the Bureau's jurisdiction, that information concerning such matters in the future must be secured through established sources, office contacts and the public press. Field was instructed to see to it that the Bureau receives all pertinent information in this regard. We will continue to closely review all such information received and will afford it proper dissemination promptly.

Office Memorandum • united states government

<i>JJ</i>						•			
то	:	DIRECT	OR, FBI	(105-3	4237)		DATE:	6/18/58	
FROM	;	SAC, F	IOUSTON		(105–	260)			b2 b7D
SUBJEC	e r : (CITIZE IS-X	ns counc	CIL OF A	MERICA.	IN TEXAS,	INC.		
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	ing lø	indivi			_			t the follo Council matt	
	2.		Residenc	ce addre	ss:				b2 b6 b7C b7D
	3.		Occupati	LonL					
	tio	n, but	is well	Ínc. H known t	e is no o the o		er of t	ouncil of he organiza lieved to b	
The Second	Legiof of the comments of the	ion and the Ame n conta mented aims a	l has been crican Lead on to an acquired on to an acquired purpo	isinessmen promiegion fo specifi gent on oses of	an. He nent in r sever c matte the prothe Cit n these	is active the Amerial years. In the blems of it izens County matters here.	e in the canism past al ntegratacil in ave pro	Committee has not though he h ion and on general. H even to be	as is
	3 - 2 -		(RM) on (1-105	5-260)	RI	EC-10 10 5		UN 23 1958	4/0 b2 b7D
10	(5)	_	JUL Z /g	1638				DANK	-

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6. There is no information in the Houston files which would appear to make contact with inadvisable.
has expressed great confidence in the methods and activities of the FBI. He is aware of this Bureau's interest in matters pertaining to integration which may lead to violence, and the fact that the Bureau has no interest in the ordinary internal affairs of the Citizens Council.
I therefore recommend that Bureau authority be granted for permission to contact in connection with Citizens Council activities in Houston.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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